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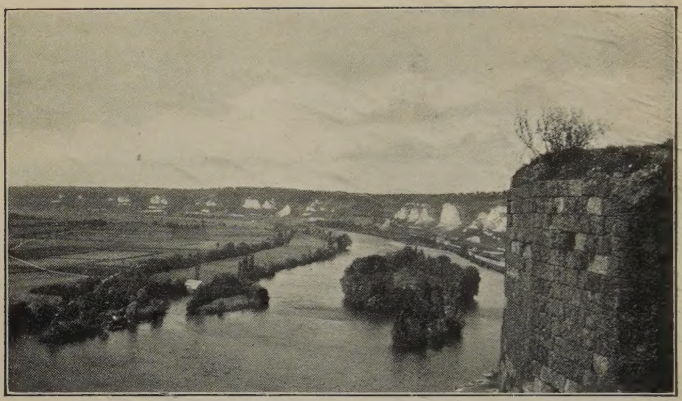

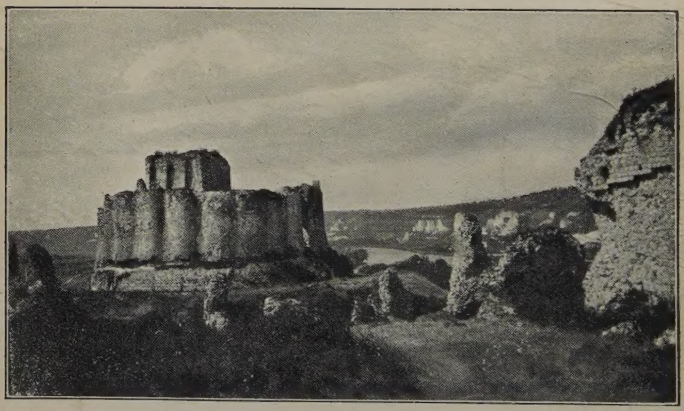

The dark donjon of Château Gaillard and the pleasant vale of Seine
Photos by Dr. Harvey Goldsmith [*Frontispiece*

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

LOCAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

BY

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TO

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE BOYS
OF THE B.G.S.

WHO HAVE TAKEN, TAKE, OR WILL TAKE

INTEREST IN HISTORY

PREFACE

From the dark donjon and broken walls of Château Gaillard we see not merely the pleasant vale of Seine, but the sedgy flats of our own Runnymede.

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THIS book is the outcome of the circular of the Board of Education, issued in 1908, on the teaching of history in schools. It is good that young students should know something of the relics of the past, of architecture, of the part played in the general history of England by the town or district in which they live; thus may great events become real to them. There are many local histories, some of them excellent, and I trust that it is not invidious to mention in particular Mr. Lamborn's *Berkshire*. Many books deal with special subjects, prehistoric remains, mansions, castles. But my instructions were to write a handy volume which would give a general idea of local history and of antiquities, so that students may have a sense of proportion in comparing the great events of our national life with the particular events of one district, and that in visiting a new county they may extend their comparisons. Much has had to be left out; yet I have tried to choose typical places, also those which illustrate life at various periods, Pevensey and Basing House, Clare and Colchester, and not only such great centres as York or Winchester. Green's singularly happy sentence is my text, and what he says of Château Gaillard gives suggestions for other places. What great historical event, every one can ask himself, does this ruin or camp or road conjure up to the mind's eye?

Non omnia possumus omnes.—Teachers under modern conditions are forced to specialise, and the result is a want of proportion. Unconsciously it may be, but inevitably, each tries to impress upon a class that his or her subject is the all-important one, whether classics or mathematics. And the same is true of the teachers of history; one specialises on constitutional, another on war. It would be rash, and therefore dangerous, to profess to be an expert on every subject or every period. So I have availed myself of the help of Mr. Jordan, and asked him to write on monasteries, industries, domestic architecture, and coaching. Even when thus helped I feel that a lifetime rather than a year should have been given to the task. Very many specialists are writing on each subject, and it is equally difficult to find in the various learned reviews and transactions what has been written, and to digest when found. Professor Haverfield very kindly read and annotated my first draft of the chapter on "Roman Britain"; if I have misunderstood his criticisms the faults in the chapter as it stands are mine. Time has not allowed me to study the results of recent excavation, at Caerwent and Caersws for Roman remains, at Old Sarum for Norman.

The *Victoria County Histories* (quoted as V.C.H.) are useful, but might have been much more useful. It is not the fault of the writers of the articles, but of the system adopted. To study a single village one has to plunge into several articles, and there are very few cross-references between the "Prehistoric," the "Anglo-Saxon," the "Domesday," and the "Earthworks" chapters. Therefore, however much one may disagree with Mr. Allcroft's conclusions, his book on *Earthwork in England* is valuable, as at least he deals with the stone work which was added to the earth. Mr. D'Auvergne's study on *English Castles* is very helpful, as he touches not only on architecture, but also on the fortunes of the families who occupied the castles.

Critics of three different types may find fault with this book. The first admires only the brilliant writers and

labels all others as dry-as-dusts. Yet both the critic and the writer who scorn accuracy lose very much; they never feel the fascination of the search after truth, and it may be doubted whether the applause of many superficial readers is more valuable than the gratitude of a few earnest students. The second is he who has a particular hobby, such as linches or dene-holes, and condemns a book because it is weak on one point; thereupon the brilliant man sneers, for dry-as-dust after all cannot even be accurate. Yet an attempt to find truth, even though it be hard to arrive at the special knowledge that is necessary, is its own reward. The third critic is the local enthusiast, who knows much of his own district, belongs to an antiquarian society, and has his own views as to the site, let us say, of some battle; he will not listen to the possibility of some other site being more likely. All local enthusiasts at least feel the sacred glow. Personally I admire immensely the late Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns, Captain Cuthbert Clutterbuck of H.M. 21st Regiment (retired), and Monsieur Poitrinas de l'Académie . . . (d'Etampes). They were keen and kept the lamp burning in a slack age, and it is only the narrow-minded who jeer and quote *ad nauseam* "prætorium here, prætorium there." But on the other hand the local antiquarian must not take it amiss that a writer who is conversant with general history does not attach importance to his particular district, or prefers a rival site for Alfred's battle, or insists that this camp is pre-Roman and not Roman, and that castle is Norman and not Saxon. The Roman myth lives very strongly; local enthusiasts, schoolboys, and tourists seem to think it an offence if one points out that the Romans were not over here in such vast numbers that they could maintain a full garrison at every point, or that they did not pass all their time in raiding and killing and gloating at gory gladiatorial shows. Also the belief that all Normans were ruthless and wanton tyrants, or that all monks were selfish and lazy gluttons, dies hard.

I trust that it is not out of place to protest against a

growing tendency amongst historical experts to jeer at each other. Professor Freeman was not a criminal because he was strongly anti-Norman, nor Mr. George Clark because he said that Saxon burghs were mounds. The latter was a business man who studied castles as his hobby, and antiquarians owe much to him even if his theory concerning burghs is wrong. Experts forget that, when they attack with sarcasms their rivals, the reading public is led to think more highly of the superficial brilliant man who already has done enough harm. This thought has come home to me very strongly while I have been studying certain modern learned works. When A. B. piles up sarcasms against all who disagree with him, and then recants in such a way that those who read the sarcasms perhaps do not know of the recantation, the cause of historical truth suffers.

It is difficult to decide how to write the names of men and places. Colchester to a student of Roman things has not the significance of Camulodunum. Yet it has seemed better to give modern names throughout, for the place is the same, and the general student profits though the expert may be annoyed. Similarly common sense dictates that one should write Beauchamp and Odell, though in *Domesday Book* these appear as Belcamp and Wadehelle.

I wish to acknowledge the help of all those who have supplied me with photographs, mostly old pupils, and would add that the best way to understand local history is to tramp the country and take one's own photographs; thus one learns to appreciate details. The late Dr. Hardie in the course of but three short visits opened my eyes to see the romance of Berwickshire, and Dr. S. R. Gardiner instilled the necessity of not writing about a place or a battlefield without going there. I have quoted Dr. Hodgkin at length as a sympathetic enthusiast in connection with Northumbria. Mr. A. R. Goddard has taught others besides myself to appreciate the story of a county so unimportant, according to a superficial view, as Bedfordshire. But most

of all I owe to my pupils, for attentive and often enthusiastic schoolboys make a man try to teach and to lecture well, and even go so far as to write on difficult subjects.

J. E. M.

To that which Dr. Morris has already written in this Preface there is little that I wish to add. The aim of the book has been explained, its imperfections acknowledged. It remains for me to state that I consider it unnecessary to furnish a list of authorities from which I have gathered my information. Where I have quoted, I have, naturally, acknowledged the fact in the text or in a footnote. To the Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, M.A., and to Archdeacon Cunningham I should like to express my thanks; their advice and help have stood me in good stead.

H. J.

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THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

CHAPTER I

PRE-CELTIC AND CELTIC BRITAIN

I.—The Stone Age

One might doubt whether it is right to start, in such a book as this, at the Old Stone Age. Flints have to be studied in museums and learned treatises, not *in situ* in the open air. Yet it is well to begin at the beginning.

Leaving out the geological reasons, let us take for granted what geologists teach us, namely, that our island was joined, very long ago, to the Continent. The Somme and the Seine on the one side, the Itchen and Exe on the other, flowed into a great river which ran south-westwards down the Channel valley. The Thames was tributary to the Rhine. In this period lived in England, as in France and various countries touching the Mediterranean, a race of wild men, with long hair, low flat heads, and receding foreheads. They inhabited caves, or sheltered themselves under banks, as best they could, against the attacks of wild beasts, which hunted the men and were hunted by them. But the savages possessed the elementary arts of civilisation; they could make knives and tools of a sort from chipped flints, and they could light a fire. From the flints we have knowledge of them, and call this remote period the Old Stone Age. The scientific term is Palæolithic.

In what is now England the primitive men inhabited chiefly the south-west and south-east parts. Some of them straggled as far up as the Peak. It is only necessary here to mention

places where there have been finds of special importance. Many flint knives have been found in the drifts which were washed down by rain or deposited by overflowing streams. At Caddington, in South Beds, on what is now high ground but was once at the bottom of a valley, Mr. Worthington Smith discovered an actual living and working place, where the savages sat beside a lake and made weapons of stone. Some convulsion of nature threatened to destroy them; they fled, leaving their finished and unfinished flints behind, and then a deluge of mud overwhelmed the place. The explorer found thousands of chips, and laboriously fitted them to the flint tools, so that he proved that here indeed was a workshop of rude instruments. Similar settlements have been found. At Crayford, in Kent, on what was then a beach of the Thames beneath a chalk cliff, now two miles inland, flints were found as sharp as when newly made, for they were covered by soft earth; those found in gravel are usually blunt. Such men are known as "drift men," and their poor homes under river banks, which driftings of earth have hid, have to be distinguished from the natural caves inhabited by "cave men." But we can make no distinction as regards date between them.

We pass to Devon and Somerset, and read of Kent's Cavern and Brixham cave near Torquay, Cattedown Cave at Plymouth, and Wookey Hole near Wells. In Kent's Cavern were found relics of primitive men and bones of wild beasts under a thick layer, twelve feet thick in places, of stalagmite, which is formed by the petrified drippings of lime-impregnated water. A certain gentleman visited this cave in A.D. 1688, and scratched his name and the date; already one-twentieth of an inch of stalagmite has been hardened thereon. Therefore, if at this rate it takes 4000 years to form an inch, how long ago were the bones deposited which lie below twelve feet? Of course we have no knowledge as to how fast the drippings were petrified in remote ages. Also we are warned that burrowing animals and water will introduce objects under stalagmite. But scientific men are satisfied, from the examination of many caves and of many bones and relics, that the savages of the Old Stone Age and wild beasts which are no longer to be found here lived very long ago at the same time, how long ago exactly it would be rash to guess, and alter-

nately occupied such rock-shelters. In Wookey Hole, which is in the bank of a ravine of the Somerset Axe, hyenas lived and gnawed the bones of their victims; then the savages turned them out and lived there, and once more the hyenas came back. Successive races of men occupied some of these caves right down to the time of the Roman occupation, and even later. In Kent's Cavern above the lowest floor of stalagmite is a layer of earth, above it yet another band of stalagmite from three to sixty inches in thickness at different places, and on top of all more earth with scraps of Roman and pre-Roman pottery and tools of stone and bronze. Where luckless men had lived once, other luckless men were glad to hide for shelter at a later date.[1]

Then there is a great gap in pre-history. Convulsions of nature made Britain an island, and it is supposed that the race of the Old Stone Age men died out, also the biggest and fiercest of the wild beasts. Neolithic men, i.e. New Stone Age men, appeared by crossing the Channel. Where controversy exists amongst scientific men it is hardly wise to lay down facts as proved. But at least there was a long period between the New and the Old, time to allow stalagmite to be formed. The Neolithic men were dark and short—averaging five feet four inches—and their heads were long in proportion to breadth. They are generally known as Iberians or Silurians; again there is doubt, and it has been denied that they were of the same race as the Iberians of Spain; yet the name is current to denote small dark men. In South Wales to-day the type of features of the New Stone men is reproduced.

Neolithic men were very clever makers of flint instruments. They turned out knives, arrow-heads, spear-heads, round-ended hammers which were held in the hand, hatchets, and scrapers with which they dressed skins for clothing. They could put a good polish and a good edge to the knives. They even came to learn how to fit a handle, the flint being squeezed into a hole in a piece of wood; it is poor work to have to cut or to hammer with a hand-stone. The most famous centre of the flint industry, the oldest industry in the dawning of civilisation, was on a stretch of heath which rose above the great

[1] Windle, *Remains of the Prehistoric Age*, pp. 27, 53, 54. Articles in the *Devon* and the *Somerset* V.C.H. I wish to make here a general reference for all the chapter to Professor Windle's book.

lagoon where the Wash came very much further inland than it does now. On the border of our Norfolk and Suffolk Brandon lies on the Little Ouse, which then formed a creek running down to the salt water. Three miles off are Grime's Graves, or Grime's Pits, some 250 in number, where the flints were quarried out of a chalk bed. Tools of many kinds have there been found by the thousand, and not only must the output have been very considerable, but also the industry must have lasted through many centuries. Bones of oxen, calves, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, dogs, are evidence of a domesticated life, and one can imagine how from this permanent settlement flints were exported to various parts of Britain, and even to Gaul. Shafts were dug to reach the lumps of flint, and went fairly deep; the next thing was to connect the shafts by galleries. Nature provided a sort of pickaxe. Though most of the antediluvian animals had disappeared, the useful reindeer survived. Primitive man took the shed antlers and shaped them to form one-sided picks; occasionally an antler has been discovered which had been taken from a deer that had been killed; with these instruments were dug the shafts and galleries. Two men were once working in a gallery at Grime's Graves. They knocked off work and left their picks; from the position in which one of them left his it seems that he was left-handed. Before they returned to work the roof of the gallery fell in, and there the picks were recently found *in situ*.

The flint industry of Brandon still survives; very possibly it never died out. When weapons and tools were made of metal instead of stone, flints were still invaluable for striking a light. Tinder-boxes or "strike-a-lights" were always wanted up to the invention of matches, and are still useful and still made, and some thousands were sent out to our troops in South Africa. Then, in the seventeenth century A.D., flint-lock fusils were first used in the British Army, and were not discarded till after Waterloo. Thus a new impetus was given to the staple trade at Brandon. The clever workers, with their hereditary skill, turned out gun-flints by the thousand. Even when rifles came in the old-fashioned flints were still supplied, and are supplied even now, to savage tribes in Africa. Another Brandon industry is that of supplying artificial prehistoric specimens. No trade has had such a long life. Enthusiastic

students claim that certain strange technical words which have never yet been explained are survivals of the language of the New Stone Age. The worker in flint is known as a "knapper."[1]

Another great centre of quarrying was at Cissbury, in Sussex, which has been called the "Sheffield of the flint industry," and here the great camp which will be shortly mentioned was evidently thrown up in order to protect the pits. There were similar quarries at Keston Common in West Kent, and at Maumbury Ring near Dorchester; the latter is worthy of mention because a Roman amphitheatre was erected on the site of the Stone Age diggings, and it was in course of excavation to see if the amphitheatre was really Roman that Mr. St. George Gray found the flint pits. In many local museums specimens of tools of reindeer horn and of flint are to be seen grouped together.

New Stone Age men introduced domestic cattle from the Continent. Cattle-breeding marks a step in civilisation and precedes agriculture. The herdsmen required space, and found the ranges of downs and wolds convenient, and next they had to think about defence and means to house the cattle. Defence leads to settlement. The huts of the period were probably comfortable enough. In many places have been explored groups of hut-dwellings, pits ten or even thirty feet in diameter and a few feet deep, over which would be raised beehive houses of willow or other boughs and mud. Alongside may be found smaller pits for cooking. These men could make earthenware vessels by hand, yet not strong enough to bear the action of fire; so they invented the cooking-stone, which was made red hot and dropped into a clay pot of water. Stones cracked by much heating, and fragments of broken pots, are found in refuse heaps near hut-settlements. The next step towards civilisation was the invention of the hearth-stone and chimney. Agriculture comes late, sheep-breeding later. It is doubted whether the Stone Age men ever grew corn until the Bronze Age men came and taught them. The teeth of the skeletons that have been unearthed may help us; Stone Age men seem to have thrived on meat and milk, and their teeth are more often sound than worn, whereas the Bronze race had bad teeth, possibly damaged by badly ground

[1] The *Norfolk* V.C.H. W. G. Clarke, *Guide to Brandon.*

corn and grit from their rough grindstones.[1] Here we must consider an important fact, namely, that the two ages overlapped. Flint instruments were used long after the bronze-workers arrived.

From what we read and what we see in the museums, let us pass to what is outside in the open air, funeral monuments, temples, camps. First we want to know how primitive men communicated with one another, by what lines they migrated from place to place. It is easy to misuse the word "natural." The late Professor Freeman was very scornful when any one talked of "natural boundaries"—for example, of the Rhine as the "natural limit" of France. Civilisation is but the expression of man's art overcoming nature. Yet rivers and hills are natural; there they are, and men can but use them as they find them. Primitive men had to move along the most convenient natural lines, along "the lines of least resistance." They knew how to dig out canoes; specimens may be seen in our museums — for instance, at Lewes and at Taunton. But hill-ways were more convenient than waterways, more easy for migrating tribes who were moving in large numbers.

It requires an effort of imagination to depict the Britain of so many centuries ago. Scientists are not altogether agreed as to how much higher the level of rivers was above the present level, whether 100 feet or 25 feet. But even if we take the lower figure, and if at the same time in imagination we do away with the dams and dykes of modern civilisation, we can easily allow that the rivers formed great estuaries where now are low-lying cultivated fields. Fenland, as we saw just now, was not so much a great swamp as an arm of the sea much beyond the present limit of the Wash; its boundary would be the uplands curving from the western edge of the Norfolk Wolds, past the Gog Magog Hills, round by Huntingdon and Peterborough to the south-eastern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds. All around the mouth of the Yorkshire Ouse, and on the other side of England over the present low lands south of the Mendips, was either a sheet of water or a vast morass. The sea covered Romney Marsh to the west of Hythe, and at least part of Pevensey Level. The various rivers of Sussex must have been wide waterways,

[1] Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 90.

making the various clumps of chalk downs to appear like islands. Climbing up from the morasses and filling the valleys were vast forests; one stretched from the Thames to the southern limit of the Fens, near Newmarket, and is now reduced to Epping Forest; and of another spreading down the west of Yorkshire to Nottingham there only remains Sherwood and a few smaller patches. The dense Andredesweald ran from east to west, from Kent through Sussex, to be continued by the forest of Bere in the south of Hampshire. The ranges of the south-east are of chalk, relics of the period when the land was completely submerged and the sea had a floor of chalk; after the subsidence of the water the action of rivers cut great grooves, as they forced their way outwards; and frost and rain then contributed to hollow out combes and valleys on the sides of the ranges. But there are districts of sand and gravel from which the chalk has been completely cleared away, Bagshot Heath in the corner of Berkshire and Surrey, the district of the New Forest, and the Great Heath of South Dorset, where the light soil was invaded by an inland lagoon.

Let us now imagine that a tribe in the north of Gaul wishes to cross the sea, being pushed on by superior enemies or tempted to explore the white cliffs that they can see across the straits. The passage is short, though the tides are strong and puzzling; they land where they find a convenient beach between the cliffs, where the ports of Hythe, Dover, Deal, Sandwich, Richborough, will afterwards rise. But, wherever they land, a "natural" course inland takes them over an upland, and from each of the little ports they converge to the river Stour, to the site of the future city of Canterbury. Thence the rampart of the Downs beckons them on to the west. It is a natural causeway or *agger*, and no paved track is required. The grass-bound chalk ridge affords good going. On wet days our modern boots, if carelessly we have forgotten to order nails, slip on the chalk; but the savages' harder natural soles would not slip so badly; and in dry weather any one can tramp for miles on the downs in pure pleasure. Soon a track is formed. Many tribes during many centuries use this track, and it becomes a terrace under the action of countless feet. So is created the great main hill road along ridge after ridge, for wherever a river intervenes the Down rises

up again on the other side. The natural *agger* runs on from Canterbury, through Kent, through Surrey, through Hampshire or Berkshire. Mr. Belloc has described it most graphically in "The Old Road." The track mostly takes the sunny southern shoulder of the Down; where a river has to be crossed it descends the most convenient gentle spur towards the most convenient ford; it winds round the head of each combe or hollow; and as it led primitive men from Canterbury westwards long years ago, so at a later date it attracted the faithful of south England eastwards to Canterbury to the shrine of St. Thomas, and was then known as the Pilgrims' Way.

The goal towards which ran this main track was either the plateau of the Marlborough Downs or Salisbury Plain. Not only the ridge of Kent and Surrey aim in this direction, but also the ranges of Sussex and Hampshire, the Chilterns beyond the Thames, and the Ashdown range which is the backbone of Berkshire, converge on Wiltshire. On the other side the ranges of Dorset, the Quantocks and Mendips, even the Cotswolds, seem to branch off from Wiltshire. The primitive tribes passed from Kent to *this* central resting-place; some of them went on to the sea or across the Thames into the Midlands, or even to the wolds of the east, and, if it was from Wiltshire that they struck out westwards and northwards and north-eastwards, by the same line they could return to Wiltshire to worship there or to bury their dead. At least there was a prehistoric track beaten down by the feet of early men along the northern slope of the Chilterns, namely, the Icknield Way,[1] which connected the knappers' settlement at Brandon with the Thames, and so with the Ridge Way of Berkshire, and ultimately with the Marlborough Downs. It is immaterial whether the men of Brandon first struck out this line to reach Wiltshire, or whether from Wiltshire a migrating tribe found its way to Brandon and there proceeded to quarry for flint; the track is marked by a succession of camps and barrows, and connects two important settlements of Stone Age men.

The Mendips and Quantocks have their tracks also marked by prehistoric remains. It is quite easy to over-emphasise our argument; the sceptic might point out that many a

[1] See below, p. 31.

The Icknield Way winding beneath the Chilterns: linches in foreground, Ivinghoe Beacon beyond

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track that appears to be prehistoric was merely trodden in by the droves of cattle which were sent up to market in London in the 18th and 19th centuries of the present era, when it was too expensive for the farmers to use the turnpike roads. Yet one can but reply that the fairly continuous strings of camps and barrows in certain cases indicate the existence of a really ancient track. Primitive men traversed the ranges lengthwise; they did not try to cross at right angles, for in the valleys below were forests which were well-nigh impenetrable, whereas the backbone of each range would stand up bald above the ocean of trees.

In Wiltshire, to which the ranges and their tracks converge, were the great temples of Avebury and Stonehenge in the midst of the thickest group of camps and barrows. Obviously there was a comparatively thick population at this centre, a poor country perhaps, yet suitable enough for cattle-herds. But it seems equally obvious that men came long distances by their trackways, both to worship and to bury their illustrious dead. From Yorkshire or Derbyshire the distance was doubtless too great, and there on their wild moors the tribes worshipped and buried according to their own customs. In Gloucestershire, also, the number of barrows indicates that the tribe or tribes preferred to bury at home. But from the colony of knappers at Brandon there was Icknield Way leading straight to Wiltshire, and the Pilgrims' Way led straight from Kent, and, although along both routes prehistoric monuments are to be found, the very great number of monuments in Wiltshire itself seems to prove the general statement. If it be argued that the temple of Avebury is at best of a very late date in the Stone Age, and that Stonehenge is of the early Bronze Age, the answer would be that a religious centre may have existed before the construction of either.

Great funeral mounds of earth, known as "long barrows," are characteristic of the Stone Age. They were thrown up over the dead so as to resemble "a very elongated egg, or one half of a pear cut lengthwise and laid upon its flat side."[1] The skulls of the skeletons that have been examined are uniformly narrow, the breadth on an average seven-tenths of the length. But the custom of burning also existed. Moreover, the horrible custom of human sacrifice can be

[1] Rice Holmes, p. 104.

traced; in many cases some of the skulls are cleft, as though prisoners and slaves were murdered at the burial of a chieftain. There are some 120 long barrows in all England, of which sixty are in Wiltshire, thirty in Gloucestershire, a dozen in Dorset, nine in Yorkshire, three in Hampshire, and one each in Berkshire, Cumberland, Durham, Kent, Oxfordshire, and Westmorland. But others have been destroyed, as will be seen below. There are twenty-four on or near Salisbury Plain, about one to every six square miles. An average long barrow measures 120 to 200 feet by 30 to 60 at the thicker end, and is about 10 feet high. The great West Kennett barrow is 335 feet long. The majority have the thicker end, under which is the grave, towards the east, but do not always point due east. There are two kinds, the chambered and the unchambered, those built over a sort of family vault and those over a shallow grave.

Unchambered long barrows are general in Dorset and South Wiltshire, probably because great boulders, suitable for making vaults, were not found there lying on the hills. A grave was made, the body was covered with small stones, and then the earth was piled up. In seven recorded cases only one skeleton was found, in a few cases two or three or four skeletons, and in unique cases fourteen and eighteen. Once was found a burnt body, and near it a murdered female skeleton. After a barrow was erected it might be opened to receive a new body, and this is called a secondary interment. Even Saxon bodies have been found thus buried in Neolithic tombs.

Where stone boulders were found they were hauled into position and set up to form chambers. "Sarsen" stones or "grey-weathers," masses of whitish sandstone, are common on the downs, and primitive men learnt how to dress them roughly. They were set up in various ways. A big cap-stone was placed upon several smaller stones as legs. Or three slabs were set on end to form a thick **H**, and a cap-stone put on top. Or an avenue of stones was made to form a passage opening at the end into a pair of recesses, or several pairs. The thicker end of the barrow was over the chamber. Obviously the purpose of the passage was to allow the burial of some other chieftain of the same family or tribe. In various chambered barrows have been found from three or six to as many as twenty-five or thirty skeletons,

but not cremated bodies. In very few indeed are there no broken skulls; that is to say, usually victims were murdered at a great man's funeral. Some barrows were decorated outside with a row of smaller stones along the base. An imposing funeral monument, in which the illustrious dead might sleep for ever, attended by wife or slave sacrificed to minister to his wants, the bones of oxen and deer, and even it may be horses around him, and his stone weapons; such is the picture.[1]

But the rifler has been at work. When men of science explore to find evidence for history or pre-history, we think it justifiable. A farmer would consider himself equally justified in using the earth of a barrow for his farm. Thus many a barrow has been stripped from the sepulchral chamber, and the stones of the chamber knocked down or taken away. Let us look at Kit's Coty House on the rising hillside above the Medway between Rochester and Maidstone, that is to say close to the line of the "Pilgrims' Way." There are two slabs set on end, parallel to each other on the ground and sloping inwards at top; a third slab at right angles keeps them apart; a fourth rests above as a table or cap-stone, 13 feet by 9¼, and 2 feet thick. The whole monument is about ten feet high. The uninitiated passing by may think that they see a Druids' altar where human sacrifice has been made. But taught by antiquarians we recognise a perfect pair of stone graves, the outer envelope of earth removed, and are glad that the stones still stand exactly as they were set up. In the neighbourhood, just off the same trackway, are other groups of stones, which once formed graves, but now lie prostrate. "Arthur's Stone," in Herefordshire, measures 19 feet by 12 at its greatest, and 3⅓ feet at its least width, and rested originally on ten short uprights; but some of these have collapsed, and the giant cap-stone is now tilted up and has a queer appearance. "Wayland Smith's Forge," on the Berkshire Downs, has the appearance of a cave, and a legend grew that an invisible smith once lived there and worked underground. Similar stories tried to account for the stones of the "Whispering Knights," in Oxfordshire. Professor Windle gives an illustration of the "Devil's Den," on the Marlborough Downs, also of two such monuments standing alongside each other

[1] Dr. Thurnam in *Archæologia*, vol. xlii. Windle, pp. 131 seq.

in Anglesey. The scientific term is "dolmen," i.e. *daul-maen*, or table-stone. "The dolmen at Lanyon, in Cornwall, the cap-stone of which is believed to weigh fifteen tons, was entirely covered with earth until the beginning of the last century, when the soil was carted away by a farmer who wished to utilise it for the improvement of his land. There was no idea that the mound was other than a natural one, until one hundred cartloads of earth had been removed, when the cap-stone began to appear. When all the earth had been carried away the dolmen was fully exposed. Some broken urns and bones were found inside, but it had evidently been rifled years before."[1]

In Scotland are cairns which cover the sepulchral chambers, the horned cairns of Caithness with projecting corners, and the round cairns of the west and north extending from Argyll through Inverness and Sutherland up to the Orkneys, beneath which were buried bodies both burnt and unburnt. But we are warned that it is difficult to fix dates for Scottish monuments. Stone Age customs lingered very long so far north, and it may be even down to the time of the Roman invasion. In the Maeshowe barrow in Orkney, the chamber is 15 feet square and 13 feet high, with a roof of slabs converging into a beehive shape, covered over by a mound 92 feet in diameter and 36 feet high, and surrounded by a ditch 40 feet wide.[2] The Derbyshire variety is a chambered round barrow, but over skeletons with the typical narrow skulls of the Stone Age.

Burial honours awarded to dead chieftains could not but be connected in primitive minds with the worship of the Great Unknown. On the great plateau of North Wiltshire, near to the West Kennett long barrow which is the largest of the funeral monuments, are the remains of Avebury Temple. The dominant note of this great religious monument is space and simplicity. Unfortunately the rifler has here been at work, "Farmer Green," a name of evil sound to antiquarians. However, the outer enclosure remains. A ditch, still 40 feet deep, was dug and the soil thrown *outwards* to form a rampart; therefore this is not a fortress. Thus was enclosed a circle with a diameter of 1200 feet and an area of 28½ acres. Within the ditch was a circle of rough unhewn stones; inside, again, were two pairs of concentric circles of stones, and other

[1] Windle, p. 175. [2] R. Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland.*

stones at their centres, and the line joining the centres points south-east. This bald description at least gives an idea of rough, simple, spacious work. An avenue from one entrance points at the great West Kennett barrow. Of course, the date of this temple cannot be accurately fixed, and it has even been attributed to the early Bronze Age.[1] Yet one has an impression that its design proves it to be older than Stonehenge. It is wide and simple; Stonehenge is smaller in area, but is more imposing from the size of its stones, its compactness, and the superiority of its elaborate workmanship. There may have been an early race of Druids, priests using a simple ritual and not yet possessed of great political power, while at Stonehenge the worship may have been conducted by Druids whose powers were more elaborate and whose ritual was more grand. Yet as authorities put different dates to Avebury, it is impossible to be dogmatic.

The monument of Arbor Low, near Bakewell, in Derbyshire, is on the same lines as the Temple of Avebury; first there is a rampart of earth, then a ditch inside, next a ring of stones, of which many are still in position, but have fallen, and towards the centre some fallen great stones; diameter from crest to crest of the rampart 250 feet. In general it is a small copy of Avebury, and may be of the date of transition from stone to bronze.[2]

The same uncertainty as to date applies also to the camps. Flints may be found by the thousand on some site, yet the camp may have been used by successive later races in turn, so that what we see now, the ramparts and ditches, are the finished work of the latest race which sheltered behind them. Stone Age men lived on Ham Hill and in Cadbury Castle, but the great trenches, in the case of Ham Hill cut in the solid rock, were beyond their power. Cissbury Ring certainly seems to be a genuine Stone Age fortress, first thrown up to enclose and protect the flint pits, and its single rampart was thought to be strong enough to protect the later races which occupied it. Waulud's Bank and Maiden Bower in South Beds date from the same age, though traces of occupation by Bronze Age men are found. Old Winchester, Walbury Camp on

[1] Montelius in *Archæologia*, vol. lxi, p. 162, attributes Avebury to the same age as Stonehenge, between 2000 and 1600 B.C. Allcroft, p. 560.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 576.

Inkpen Beacon, and many another singly ramparted camp, it may be fairly inferred, are of great age. Of course, it is dangerous to assume that a single rampart is a proof of Stone Age work. The men of the Iron Age were frequently content to have but one rampart.[1] But the mass of Neolithic remains in many camps suggest Neolithic workmen who were content with single rings of earthwork, suitable to their needs and not beyond their powers of construction. At Badbury Rings it is quite possible that the original camp had but one rampart, and that later races threw round it two more which are nearly concentric. Maiden Castle in Dorset as we now see it, is very formidable; trebly ramparted on one side, quadruply on the other, yet Stone Age remains have been found there in abundance. A cross-ditch divides its inner area, and this has puzzled some antiquarians. But a sensible theory has been put forward that the original Stone Age camp occupied merely the eastern half of the hill-top, surrounded by this ditch and its rampart and the eastern half of the innermost of the existing rings; later the whole of the hill was fortified so that it became the most powerful of all the prehistoric camps.[2]

II.—The Bronze Age

Some authorities have written strongly, and to the lay mind very convincingly, about the men of the Bronze Age; then other authorities write and upset our convictions. It is agreed that a race of men arrived from the Continent about 2000 B.C.; they were tall men, fair-skinned, and with large round heads. Bronze was already used outside our island, and the new-comers, bringing their bronze-headed handled weapons, were conquerors, who beat and drove ever westwards

[1] See below. Instances at Hunsbury, Bigberry, etc.

[2] Mr. J. G. N. Clift in the *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xiii. Several antiquarians accept the derivation of "Maiden" Castle or Camp or Bower or Way as indicating a place or line of refuge for women, i.e. for Saxon women in the days of Danish raids. The word occurs in districts raided by the Danes, and a common-sense Saxon derivation is commendable. Dr. Murray suggests "a camp strong enough to be defended by women." The usual derivation is from *mai dun*, i.e. high hill. Many hills and rocks in Celtic parts of the country, in Scotland, Cornwall, and the Scillies, bear names like enough in sound to "Maiden," and therefore seem to bear out the traditional derivation.

Maiden Bower lying beneath Dunstable Downs; group of round barrows on the Downs *Face page* 14

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the stone-using, narrow-headed "Iberians." But of what race were they? We used to be told that they were Goidels or Gaels,[1] a branch of the Celtic family of nations, and akin to the Gauls who fought so long against the Romans. This has been denied, and we are now told that the Goidels migrated in the first place direct to Ireland, whence some came eastwards to South Wales and West Scotland. But whoever the first users of bronze weapons may have been, they were at least fierce fighters and were of a repulsive type of countenance; their low foreheads and heavy jaws, of which the experts who have examined their skulls write, indicate a breed of prize-fighters. Short and narrow-headed men, akin to neither Iberians nor bronze-using round-heads, seem to have settled in East Yorkshire, where, shut in by the swamps of the Ouse and by the Humber, they were a race apart.[2] We have to imagine a long period during which Stone-Age and Bronze-Age customs overlapped; stone tools and weapons were still used, and especially stone arrow-heads, and successive hordes arrived from the Continent, each probably bringing better weapons in turn. Intermarriage between the various races may also be assumed. The districts where they warred and intermarried were the wolds of the east between the sea and the fens; but more particularly the district of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, as the narrow-heads contested the ground and fell back westwards.

We talk about the Celtic race and the Celtic language, but it is extremely difficult to define who the Celts were. Tribes of all kinds must have migrated into Britain in the very remote days, and the earliest bronze-workers seem to have been of a non-Celtic type. But some of the next swarm coming behind them must have spoken a language kindred to that of the Gauls, and would, in course of time, teach their language to those whom they found; but we can nowhere find a general type of Celt. The Gaels of Ireland and the Highlands and West Islands of Scotland, the Cymry of Wales, and the Bretons or Armoricans of Gaul, have very little indeed in common, and the diverse types may have been produced to a considerable extent by intermarriage of Celt and non-Celt. It is perfectly clear that the narrow-headed race was

[1] e.g. by Professor Boyd Dawkins and Mr. Worthington Smith.
[2] Rice Holmes, pp. 424–58.

non-Celtic, yet they learned the language and are the ancestors of the South Welsh of to-day; their physique and physiognomy can be traced in other parts of Britain. It would therefore be more to the point to talk of the "narrow-heads" and "round-heads," as representing respectively the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, rather than Celtic and pre-Celtic races.[1]

Was the supremacy of the new-comers solely due to their bronze weapons? Or, indeed, were the new-comers always and completely victorious? There is no definite answer possible. One would assume that bronze would give a decided superiority, but then the earliest bronze-armed tribes had but weak poor weapons of that metal. The funeral barrows do not yield examples of good swords and good socketed tools. The argument that the best metal was too valuable to be buried even alongside a great chieftain sounds convincing. But it is sufficient to assume the general superiority of bronze over flint, and at least each succeeding wave of invaders between 2000 B.C. and 800 B.C. came with weapons of superior type. Stone tools were still used, and no arrow-heads have ever been found except of flint, so that there was plenty of work yet for the knappers of Brandon or of Cissbury. But the superiority of bronze is clear; both for cutting and for stabbing the metal admitted of a better edge and a better point, and a handle could be more easily joined. Hatchets, adzes, spades of the type called by experts "palstaves," axe-heads, and chisels called "celts," could be turned out from moulds, and put to their handles by wings, which were hammered over till they were tightly fixed, or by sockets. Spear-heads could be fitted by tangs into wooden hafts and then riveted. But it seems to have been a long time before the rough elementary knife or dagger was developed into the delicate sword of the leaf pattern, the blade of which was narrow near the handle, then expanded, and finally tapered to a point. Articles of bronze have been found in hoards; here the hoard of a dealer who had heads fresh from the mould ready for sale, elsewhere the hoard of a manufacturer who had old and broken bits of metal ready to be melted down together with unused metal.

In the Bronze Age the long barrow disappeared and the round barrow took its place. The shape varied. Round barrows are high and narrow, i.e. bell-shaped; or wide and

[1] Rice Holmes, Appendices, viii and ix.

shallow, i.e. bowl-shaped. The custom of burying the entire skeleton existed at the same time as the custom of burning; sometimes in the same barrow and at the same date bodies were buried both burnt and unburnt. The sepulchral chamber of the old long barrows was no longer in use; in its place we find the body laid in a hole under stones, or in a stone coffin called a "cist," or the ashes were laid in an urn. The long-chambered barrow could be reopened for another burial; a round barrow could be often utilised, a new grave being dug on top and a new layer of earth thrown over, so that it was heightened gradually by several successive burials. The long stand alone, and from their comparative rarity were obviously erected only to cover the remains of chieftains; the round are often in groups—there are the Seven Barrows of Burghclere, of Stockbridge, and of Tidworth, all in north Hampshire; Seven Barrow Farm, near the White Horse, in Berkshire; the Five Knolls of Dunstable and of Royston, etc. —and these appear frequently on the sky line above some old trackway. Burial mounds clustered together in this way must have been raised for more than only a few chiefs. Moreover, the number in the whole of England is very large; in Wiltshire alone over two thousand remain; yet Wiltshire has sixty long barrows, as many as in all the rest of England put together. The inference is that warriors, perhaps even dependents and servants, were buried around their leader. Also the same horrid thought that intruded itself before comes over us, namely, that the practice of sacrificing women and slaves at a chieftain's death may have been common. What Mr. Worthington Smith discovered in a round barrow near Dunstable is worthy of special mention. In the centre was a single skeleton; in a circle round were other skeletons, including those of a woman and child, which were honoured by a decoration of fossils and bits of pottery. Certainly there is here a human touch. One feels, after some forty centuries, a personal sympathy for the humble loving man who used such little art as he had to ornament the grave of his dear ones. The customs of the period varied in different parts of England, one unburnt skeleton surrounded by several deposits of burnt bones, nine skeletons and one burnt body, a group of eight barrows containing one urn each, a single barrow covering nearly fifty remains, and so on. In one part of Yorkshire

burning was almost invariable, in another there were three times as many burials without burning.[1]

Stonehenge is nowadays generally attributed to the Bronze Age, various authorities arguing for an earlier or a later date during that age. The very great skill which could haul the enormous stones over the downs, dress and trim them and cut joints, set them upright, and raise the lintels and cap-stones, seems to point to a late date, even though the instruments used were all of stone. Even when men possessed bronze tools the heavy stone mauls and hammers were more suitable to the work. One can imagine the race of round-heads struck by the grandiose plan of the Avebury temple, and determined to build another and more elaborate one of their own. The area of Stonehenge is small; the diameter of the outer circle of monster stones is but 100 feet. First of all is an outer ditch and a rampart of earth behind it, the reverse of the arrangement at Avebury. Within were (1) a ring of thirty hewn grey sarsen stones, 16 feet high, with cross-stones or lintels on top in a consecutive ring; (2) a less regular ring of isolated smaller hard bluestones 6 feet high; (3) five great trilithons of sarsens arranged in a horse-shoe curve, each triplet composed of two uprights and a cap-stone fitted to them by mortise-and-tenon joints, the largest 25 feet high; (4) a horse-shoe curve of smaller separate bluestones; (5) not quite at the centre a single great rock, called the altar-stone. Geologists say that the bluestones, though foreign to the district, may have been deposited there by ice in some remote age; they were hauled to Stonehenge and roughly dressed there. The grey sarsens were first dressed where they lay and finally completed at Stonehenge; they were split by alternate heating by a wood fire and cooling by water, and by the use of very heavy stone mauls which were raised by ropes and let fall; the grooving and jointing was done by hammer-stones.[2] If all the stones were put back into place one would have an impression of over-elaboration, the rings and horse-shoes being almost too close, but also of massive grandeur.

The line drawn from the middle space of the greatest trilithon through the centre and out at the entrance in the

[1] Rice Holmes, pp. 184 seq. Windle, p. 144.
[2] Professors Gowland and Judd in *Archæologia*, vol. lviii.

earth rampart continues down an avenue past a great isolated stone, which is known as the Friar's Heel. The line is 25° E. of N., and is approximately the line of shadows at dawn on midsummer day. So the theory was started long ago that Stonehenge was always connected with sun-worship. Like most theories, this has been challenged and ridiculed. Possibly the custom of the people of Salisbury to get up early on midsummer morning was simply due to the fact that the theory was started; nobody can suppose that the custom has come down through nearly forty centuries, and it is useless as an argument. It is not amiss to suggest, when rival experts try to prove or disprove somewhat too warmly, that the trouble arises from a wish to be too accurate and to deduce too much, which gives to an opponent some ground for ridicule. We do not want to know if the line down the avenue points exactly to where the tip of the sun, or the centre of the sun, appears over the horizon on the longest day. It is enough if the general direction at midsummer is about right. These builders of Stonehenge could not have had minute astronomical knowledge. We limit ourselves to the thought that a temple, surrounded as it is by hundreds of funeral barrows, is naturally also connected with worship and in all probability with sun-worship. At least it was the religious centre of south Britain on the eastern side of the spacious Salisbury Plain.

Other circles may be mentioned. On the top of the Mendips over 900 feet up and on a dead level are four circles, almost mathematically perfect and with a diameter of 550 feet each. Three of them lie evenly together, and the line which joins their centres points 17° E. of N.; the earthworks are low and lie within fosses. We feel inclined to agree with those who argue that there is some meaning in their position.[1] Also there are found in several places great solitary stones, called *menhirs*, the erection of which to commemorate a hero or an event may be taken for granted. All nations have such monuments. On Dartmoor are mysterious "sacred circles" of stones, also some fifty stone avenues, single or double or even eight rows of stones, starting usually from a circle, varying in length, and pointing to any part of the compass. But the megaliths of our country, whether isolated sentries

[1] Allcroft, p. 562.

whose duties are unknown to us, or rows in any direction, are but dwarfs in comparison with the mightier monuments of Brittany. The mention of Dartmoor reminds us of the hut circles of the Bronze Age. At Grimspound are huts enclosed by a wall and formed of granite slabs set up on end. On Legis Tor a typical hut has a diameter of 13½ feet, a paved floor, a hearthstone, and a cooking hole. On Standon Down above the Tavy are seventy with walls a few feet high, but without fire-holes.[1]

We now come to the fascinating question of camps. The first error we can all avoid ; only sheer perverseness of mind can be responsible for attributing to Cæsar and the Romans generally what are obviously pre-Roman hill-top forts. Many camps are named after the Danes, owing to the " red terror " which they inspired in the ninth century A.D. A mixture of superstitious awe and ignorance to account otherwise for such mighty works, as well as for dykes and punch-bowls, has attributed others to the devil. The Danes indeed clearly used the pre-Roman camps, for instance Bratton Castle in the campaign of 878. Of course, in the overlapping period of stone and bronze, during the long struggles between the narrow-heads and the round-heads and other successive hordes of invaders, it is difficult to fix the date of any camp. So the people who love to be wrong retort that, if experts are in doubt, why may not the camps be Roman after all ? There is a good general rule, the exceptions to which can be easily explained. The camps of the overlapping Bronze and Stone Ages stand at least relatively high and are for defence ; the Britons of the succeeding Iron Age sometimes, the Romans and Normans usually, built low down so as to hold the valleys and fertile lands.

The camps are of one general type, but the variety of detail is infinite. There are promontory forts, where a precipice or swamp on one or more sides is sufficient protection, and strong defences have to be made only on the opposite side ; hill-spur forts with slight works on the steep sides, strong on the others ; hill-top forts, where the rampart runs round the hill, following the contour, and encloses the crown of the hill, or the top half of the hill, or the whole hill, as the case may be. We may find single, or double, or treble, or even

[1] F. Burnard in *Devon* V.C.H.

quadruple ramparts and ditches; defences dug in thin sandy soil, in kindly chalk, in heavy clay, or even in stone; camps nearly rectangular, irregular, oval, round; fortresses for permanent occupation or for occasional use, sufficient to enclose an entire tribe at need, or to be used as mere look-out stations; lofty eagles' nests as high up as 800 or 900 feet, and low hills rising out of a plain. Some are obviously within signalling range of each other, forming a series of defences along the brow of hills above a valley, and mutually supporting each other. Others seem to be the military centres of rivals and enemies on opposite sides of a valley. The most puzzling question is that of successive occupation. Finds of flints may seem to denote the Stone Age; then some find of bronze weapons upsets such a conclusion, unless we allow for a long period during which the camp was used by both races at intervals. Old Sarum is usually given as the typical case of a camp occupied in turn by Iberians, Celts, Romans, Saxons, and Normans.

Most of these camps are planted in extremely well-chosen positions, often commanding a view over the whole compass, and in other cases of at least three-quarters of a circle. The favourite position was on the brow of a range looking up and down a valley, with some command also over lateral valleys. The cattle would be fed upon the slopes and combes below, and most of the tribe would live in their huts amongst their beasts; the camp would then be the place of refuge in case of the appearance of an enemy, who could doubtless be seen by the tribe's scouts at some considerable distance. Occasionally a camp occupies a completely isolated hill, or it may be just a rising ground which commands a view over an entire circle. In many of these places it has been pointed out by military men,—and I had the advantage of visiting several camps in company with an officer,—that no better position could be chosen even under the conditions of modern warfare. For instance, from Badbury Rings there would be a perfectly open ground in every direction for modern rifles and guns, except that one neighbouring knoll would have to be occupied by a picket.

One must draw a distinction between methods of construction upon hills and on the flat. Of course, on a hillside a comparatively small amount of chalk or gravel would

have to be displaced in order to make an extremely high rampart; on the flat the amount of material to be raised from the ditch increases in geometrical progression with every foot excavated. Let us imagine Stone Age men getting to work. Perhaps they would be working in parties of four; No. 1 with his reindeer pick would loosen the chalk, No. 2 with stone tools held in the hand would scoop out the soft stuff on to the backs of Nos. 3 and 4, who by crossing their arms behind would form natural hods; they would in turn climb out of the trench up the bank and tip the material over. Or perhaps Nos. 3 and 4 did not make themselves hods, but used the skins of animals,—unless, indeed, the skins were so valuable as clothes that they would not be wasted in this way,—and would drag up the material rather than carry it. The bronze-workers would have the advantage of palstaves, metal blades fitted to handles. When many men were all engaged in this work the camp would be formed fairly rapidly. Of course, the deeper the ditch and the higher the rampart the more the labour of putting the finishing touches, and perhaps this explains why those of 30 or even 40 feet do not strike us as so imposing as the 60 feet ditches of Maiden Castle; a drop of 30 feet is not much more impressive than that of 12 feet, but is far less impressive than one of sixty.

Looking at the map of Kent we find all the old remains either along the line of the Pilgrims' Way, or else to a lesser extent along an equally old trackway a bit further north. The few camps at Chilham, Cobham, Ightham, and Westerham, along one or other of these are described as slight and weak. The inference is that each race who lived in Kent preferred to migrate westwards rather than to stay and fight new-comers, for which purpose they would have required strong camps. The same sort of thing can be seen in Surrey, Berkshire, and Hampshire, also on the western side of the Sussex Downs; the camps have but single ramparts and seem to be mere places of refuge for one small tribe, it may be for quite a limited period. The so-called Cæsar's Camp on Bagshot Heath is curiously leaf-shaped, and dug out of light sand, which must have been very difficult to work because it would not bind easily. On Inkpen Beacon is Walbury Camp, with a ring of over 2000 yards of single rampart standing like a sentinel on the high down south of the Kennet and

looking towards Wiltshire. Along the crest of the Ashdown ridge, in a line with each other north of the Ridge Way and overlooking the Vale of White Horse, camps are very frequent but weak. On the corner of the downs north of Chichester there is but one camp; a few barrows on the ridge which travels over into the south of Hampshire through Petersfield indicate a thin population and an old trackway. But there is no camp until we come to Old Winchester, on a bluff of the ridge 650 feet high and overlooking the Meon valley. Its single rampart is but 1000 yards in circuit, but it is in a fine position and commands such a wide range that surprise under ordinary conditions would be difficult. Above modern Winchester is a slightly bigger but singly-ramparted camp on St. Catherine's Hill, finely situated above the junction of several valleys. The site of Basing House at the source of the Loddon was once occupied by an old camp.

Sussex we may call a special county. In almost every period of history Sussex is apart from the rest of England. In those old days the Andredesweald on the north and the great lagoons on the east shut off the South Downs. Here primitive men stayed and did not migrate further westwards when challenged by new-comers. We may fairly infer this from the fact that on the South Downs, in an area of barely thirty miles by seven, there are twenty camps. Deduct one which is late British of the Iron Age, one which is Saxon, and a few which are so weak as to be hardly worth counting, and perhaps fifteen remain, which were occupied, as far as we can see, simultaneously.[1] The South Downs are divided into blocks separated by the various streams which drain the interior. These rivers, being at a higher level in those days, must have formed impenetrable barriers against onward movement, for water traffic by canoe would not suit large numbers of tribesmen.

In the neighbourhood of Beachy Head there is one camp situated inland and three with their backs to the cliff. These latter have weak ramparts towards the edge of the cliff and stronger on the land side. They were not placed to look out against an enemy coming by sea, but were tribal defences of the men living inland. Westwards there is a thick block of downs between the Ouse and the Adur, and on it are five

[1] Mr. Allcroft gives two special chapters to the South Downs.

camps. The best known is the Devil's Dyke, the area of which is over 40 acres, and it looks from the edge of the downs northwards. On three sides the earthworks are slight, for the slope of the downs is steep and gives natural protection; on the fourth a very high rampart 40 feet above the floor of the ditch, but only 200 yards long, bars approach from the south. The highest part of the Devil's Dyke is just above the 700 feet contour. Close at hand is Wolstonbury Camp at 600 feet, and Ditchling Beacon at 850, both of them smaller in area, but, like the Devil's Dyke, looking out over the weald northwards. On the reverse side of the block near Brighton are two weak camps overlooking the country towards the sea. Whether the men who lived on the northern slope were the natural enemies or the allies of those on the southern slope can hardly be determined, but, as an outside enemy would find it rather difficult to reach this country at all, one has to imagine that the camps were erected by men who were enemies of each other. Similarly on the next block of downs behind Worthing, which is cut off by the Adur on the east and the Arun on the west, Chanctonbury Ring stands up high as a sentinel on the northern edge; Cissbury Ring is lower down and half-way to the sea; High Down and Harrow Hill overlook the flat belt of coast.

Cissbury Ring was obviously in the first place thrown up by stone-using men to guard the flint quarries, and was used by several races in the ages of bronze and iron which succeeded. It is a camp of 60 acres, yet has but a single great rampart and ditch. It is not very well situated, for in places an enemy from the south could approach fairly close under cover. To the north and east it commands a better view, and so one infers that the enemy who might be expected to attack would come from the north, i.e. from Chanctonbury. This inference is supported by the fact that Chanctonbury, a small camp of only 500 feet by 400, is covered by extra works on the Cissbury side. At least, whether we imagine that the men who inhabited these camps were allies or enemies, it remains that the population must have been fairly thick for those days.

Cattle-farming requires space. The tribesmen must have lived on the slopes below their camp, with doubtless a few watchers in the camp itself, ready at a moment's notice to concentrate and drive in their animals within the rampart

when warned. Two suggestions at once occur. Almost all the prehistoric camps lack water, though sometimes a well or pond is to be found outside and perhaps fairly near. This fact alone is an argument against permanent residence within the rampart. But a tribe when warned of attack, having driven in the cattle and brought up as much water as they could manage in skins and rough earthenware pots, could endure a short siege. The cows would for a time supply them with milk, the natural atmosphere is damp enough nowadays, and doubtless in those days was very damp, thirst can be endured under desperate circumstances, and much bathing is a modern luxury. Moreover, the besieging army would have to be very strong in numbers, at least four to one over the defenders, if they wished to assault every face of the camp at once; the defenders holding an inner position could quickly rush to any threatened part. Therefore a large investing army would be themselves starved out and forced to retreat long before the defenders would be reduced by thirst. Now this gives us the second suggestion, namely, that, except in cases of attack by an overpowering force, a comparatively small number of defenders would be required; merely the threatened portion of rampart would have to be manned, not the whole ring. Cissbury would require at least 5000 men to hold the entire circuit, but in that case nearly 20,000 men would be required to attack, and it is incredible that so large an army could be collected. The Devil's Dyke could shelter vast numbers of cattle, and a comparatively small force could hold the 200 yards of high rampart on the face which requires natural protection.

Those who know well the Sussex camps give us some warnings that it is useful to remember. The trackways over the downs are often, indeed mostly, modern. Sheep and shepherds soon wear down a path, the wet chalk is churned up, the sun dries it and the wind blows it away, and very soon the path becomes a trench; therefore every track that can be found in the chalk does not necessarily mean an old road. Similarly many of the dew-ponds are modern. A dew-pond is formed by puddling, that is to say, by the tramping down of the chalk by many feet, so as to make a hard floor; the damp air is caught and water is distilled. When once the floor cracks the water leaks out. It is not safe to consider every or any pond-

like depression in an old camp to be an equally old dew-pond. We are told that the men of Sussex and the men of Wiltshire have different methods of construction. A few Wiltshire families have preserved and practise to the present day the art of making their dew-ponds by ramming down alternate layers of straw, puddled clay, chalk, and flints; whereas the Sussex men only stamp down the natural chalk with their feet.

So we come to Wiltshire and Dorset, the land of many camps as of many barrows. Not only are they here particularly numerous, but also very strong; we have double and quadruple ramparts, very deep ditches, and intricate entrances. Sometimes the entrance is formed by the rampart curving outwards or inwards, so that the attacking party would have to pass under volleys of stones or arrows shot from either side of the passage. Frequently extra ramparts are added, and one may explain by imagining the fingers of each hand opened and then brought towards each other; instead of running the gauntlet down one passage, the enemy would have to penetrate through a veritable maze of passages, always under "fire."

We begin at Old Sarum, below which unite the Bourne, the Avon, the Wylye, and the Nadder. Radiating out from Old Sarum are strings of camps on the edge of the downs above either bank of each river. As one goes by train up the Wylye from Salisbury to Westbury, one passes more than a dozen. Above Westbury, on the north-west shoulder of the Wiltshire Downs, with a fine view over Somerset, is a group of three, Scratchbury Hill, Battlesbury Hill, Bratton Castle; numerous weak entrenchments and barrows adorn the plateau, and one has an impression that here was a large tribe with several fortresses and ready to defend itself against an enemy coming from north or west.

Coming south we see Badbury Rings planted on the lower ground between the downs of south Wiltshire and mid-Dorset, a fine intermediate position, where the Romans had a posting station when they drove their main road from Sarum through Badbury to Dorchester. The camp occupies an entire hill, only 327 feet high, but with a perfect view over the low rolling lands around. The two inner ramparts are close together; the lowest is separated by a wide flat bit of

ground, technically a "berm," and it looks as if the camp had been enlarged at intervals. A fairly large pond is within; hence the reason why the Romans occupied it. To the north-west, up the valley of the Stour and lateral valleys, may be seen many camps, several of them within sight of each other. In particular, nine miles from Badbury, Hod Hill and Hambledon Hill are barely a mile apart, and one may be certain that they are the fortresses of allies rather than rivals. It might seem that one or the other was superfluous; but they occupy a great block of ground too large to be enclosed within one camp, and Hod Hill at the south-east corner 470 feet up, and Hambledon on the north-west edge at 620 feet, between them have a perfect circle of view, and the tribesmen would run to the one or the other in case of surprise from whatever point of the compass the enemy might appear. The chief point of interest is that in the Civil War some peasants gave trouble to the soldiers of the New Model Army and occupied Hambledon Hill; the trained Cromwellian regiments had some little difficulty in storming these prehistoric ramparts when manned by even so contemptible an enemy.

The next string of camps is in mid-Dorset. Close to Dorchester are Poundbury Camp and Maumbury Ring, and on the way to Weymouth is Maiden Castle. This, the queen of earthworks, seems to be a fortress of the Bronze Age designed to take in the whole of an oval hill, where the Stone Age men had first constructed a simple singly-ramparted camp on one half of the top. It is also thought that the elaborate fortifications were not quite completed, and doubtless it was in use up to the Roman occupation. It was waterless, and therefore the Romans, having no use for it, founded a tribal town at Dorchester on the Frome. The highest point is at 432 feet above sea-level, and the plain around is at about 220 feet; therefore Maiden Castle, just like Badbury Rings, is not an inaccessible eagle's nest, but a convenient rallying place for a large tribe, just high enough to give a wide view over the lowlands. The one weak spot is on the western side, over against which rises another hill on nearly the same level, and just here the defences are very intricate, and an assailant trying to force an entry would have to fight his way along the floor of a maze of ditches between ramparts. The long north side of the hill has three ramparts and

ditches, and the south side has four; the top rampart is at the brow of the plateau and the bottom ditch at the very foot of the slope. In some places the crest of the rampart is more than 60 feet above the floor of its outer ditch. The inner area is 45 acres, and the total area within the outer lip of the outermost ditch is 115 acres. The majority of the camps in Wiltshire and Dorset have double ramparts only. Ten miles north-west from Maiden Castle is Egardun Camp at 800 feet above sea-level, and another ten miles further on is Pilsden Pen at 900 feet, from which we descend to the River Axe; these two appear to be fortresses of one tribe or of allied tribes commanding a semicircle of low ground which falls to the sea.

Along the slopes on the left bank of the Axe is a string of camps, another on the right bank, and similarly the Otter and the Exe are guarded as though each tribe were defending its own side of a valley. There is also a cluster on the eastern side of Dartmoor. Our impression here is that men beaten out of Dorset and Wiltshire were standing on their defence against being pushed any further to the west. As on Dartmoor itself there are no formidable camps, but only hut-settlements, we infer that having got so far for safety they were not further molested. By this time we have left the chalk and reached a land of stone. In Devon and Somerset it is simply a marvel that some of the camps could have been excavated at all. Cadbury Castle—there are three camps of this name, but we are now referring to the one in East Somerset—stands very high indeed and occupies the whole summit of an isolated hill of stone. It has four ditches and ramparts, and the lowest ditch is about half-way down a steep hill-side. It was occupied by men of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages in turn, and we may assume that it was the latter, with their superior instruments, who put the finishing touch to the mighty fortifications which we see there, and the same seems to be the case at Ham Hill. Each of these looks over the low lands of mid-Somerset. Going on further to north and west Somerset, we find a long row of camps towards the sea. There are several on the heights parallel to the lower Avon. A group of three promontory forts, i.e. strongly ramparted on the landward side only, cover a ford by which some prehistoric track crossed the Avon at Clifton. There is a cluster

Maiden Castle, Northern Ramparts

Maiden Castle, Southern Ramparts

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on the west end of the Mendips and another on the Quantocks, and between them Brent Knoll is an isolated fortified hill on the flat plain. Here we have a tribe or tribes struggling with their backs to the sea against men who have pushed them to the limit. We need not suppose that there was always a state of war during the many centuries of prehistoric ages, but a general survey of the camps from Old Sarum to Brent Knoll cannot but leave us with the idea that there was once a long period of serious war, first between the Stone Age men and the earliest Bronze men, who tried to dispossess them, then possibly between these allied and the next relay of invaders. It is not at all likely that all these many camps were occupied continuously or at the same time. It is not rare to find a weak fortification near a strong one, the first being deserted, as if the tribe preferred to build anew rather than strengthen the old works.

Up the Lugg from its junction with the Wye at Hereford is a series of camps. In Shropshire are the great concentric rings of Caer Caradoc on the Teme, Bury Ditches in Walcot Park, a second Caer Caradoc near Church Stretton, and Old Oswestry, and we find our interest here in considering them the centres of resistance against the Romans of Claudius's reign.[1] In Derbyshire are promontory forts in a wild country such as would suit a fierce and poor tribe. Carl's Wark is a long and narrow oblong rising out of a morass, three sides defended by nature, and one by a 20-feet-thick wall of earth with a face of packed dry masonry; great stones, some of them 10 or 15 feet long, lie scattered on the slope. The camp of Comb Moss is triangular, two sides above a precipice, and on one side two ramparts of earth packed over elaborately placed large stones. The ramparts of Markland Grips, near Creswell Crag, are three, cutting across a level area between two ravines. Mam Tor is an area of 16 acres girdled by two ramparts, and on the south side three.[2]

"In Cleveland there are numbers of small dykes, many of them built of clear stone, which cross the ridges between the dales, in lines always double, often treble, and sometimes quadruple, invariably facing to the south. They may have some connection with the strong fortress of Eston Nab, the

[1] *Herefordshire* and *Shropshire* V.C.H.
[2] Rev. J. C. Cox in *Derbyshire* V.C.H.

dykes being apparently designed to block the approaches thither from the interior and the south."[1] In this district we hear that the dead were almost invariably burnt. We seem to have a tribe cut off in its little corner, and with backs to the sea, defending itself as a race apart. Flamborough Head also is cut off by an " elaborate series of entrenchments ; the most important of these, locally known as the Danes' Dyke, encloses an area of five square miles, to which attaches the name of Little Denmark." Whether these were the work of raiders entrenching themselves where they landed, or of a tribe beaten back to the sea, is doubted. " But there is evidence to suggest that it was the work of men who not only used flint implements, but made them, and, moreover, made them on the spot. This is not inconsistent with their having also the knowledge and use of metal."[2] That the Danes afterwards utilised such defences in a country with which they were so long acquainted, both as raiders and as settlers, is highly probable.

Dykes make us think of Cambridgeshire. There are five dykes, in order from west to east, Bran Ditch, Brent Ditch, Woolstreet, Fleam Dyke, and the Newmarket Devil's Dyke. Their fosses face to the west, and the builders were dwellers in the east who opposed an advance from the Midlands. The greatest of the five is of course the seven-miles-long Devil's Dyke, and the Fleam Dyke is nearly as great ; that is to say, the greatest are in the rear against a western attack. The amount of earth turned up is simply tremendous. " The builders must have been a powerful and a populous people, if they are to be judged by their works, a people with equal wit and will to turn to their advantage the physical features of the land."[3]

The dykes are built across a band of chalk and seem to us to terminate " in the air " ; one need not climb them, but can pass round their ends. But in old days one flank was guarded by the impenetrable fens, and the other by the great forest. Fen Ditton near Cambridge and Wood Ditton at the southern end of the Newmarket Dyke preserve this fact, Ditton being " dyke-town." Who, then, erected these five great barriers ? Those who deny that the pre-Roman tribes

[1] Allcroft, p. 496 ; quoting Canon Atkinson.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 505 onwards.

ever erected dykes are simply begging the question; it was unnecessary for the Romans to erect them, and this sort of work was not congenial to Anglians or to Danes. The time and labour required would be vastly greater than what was necessary for the construction of even Maiden Castle, yet men of similar races being capable of the one were capable of the other. In this country there are not many camps; the well-known Wandelbury[1] on the Gog Magog Hills is solitary. The irresistible conclusion is that the populous tribe of flint knappers and neighbouring tribes, not accustomed to throw up camps, planned one by one the five dykes, the weakest and westernmost first and the bigger ones in the rear, against an enemy coming up from the Thames by the Icknield Way. The fact that this old track aims straight at the dykes is highly suggestive, and if the West Saxons came up by it in A.D. 571, prehistoric tribes were likewise tempted to invade by it in earlier days. In fact, the only explanation of the dykes is that they cut the Way and cover Brandon and the neighbourhood.

We argued earlier that such tracks were really formed in early prehistoric days because they lead past camps and groups of barrows, and in the case of the Icknield Way we see at one end the settlement of the knappers, and at the other the Ridge Way of Berkshire, which leads on to Avebury. The men of Wiltshire would wish to obtain flint instruments from Brandon, and the men of Brandon to have access to Avebury and Stonehenge. Icknield Way ends in the neighbourhood of Brandon; and even when the dykes cut across it a track would seem to have been thrown out to circumvent them to the south through the forest, a track doubtless useful enough in days of peace, yet difficult for an army of assailants to use in war. The Way gives its name to the Anglian villages of Ickleton and Ickworth and Icklingham. But authorities deny that it reaches beyond Brandon to the territory of the Iceni, that is to say, it did not take its name from the famous tribe of Boadicea, which, indeed, we are told, ought to be written Eceni.[2] Both the settlement at Brandon and the

[1] It is difficult to see why any one should scoff at the derivation of Wandelbury from Vandals; a tribe of Vandals may have come in with the Angles and given their name.

[2] Haverfield, *Norfolk* V.C.H.

Icknield Way we can safely put down to the Stone Age, and the flint industry and traffic along the Way were doubtless in full swing in the Bronze Age. Leaving the neighbourhood of Cambridge, we pass by the Way the group of barrows at Royston, and travel on the southern side of the crest of the Chiltern ridge behind Wilbury Camp and Ravensburg, which at the edge of the ridge have a wide view northwards. Then we turn into South Beds and come to Waulud's Bank, at the source of the Lea, a stronghold in both Stone and Bronze Ages, lying low but in a strongly defensive position because of the water, and, though low, doubtless served by signals and beacon fires from many of the high points of the downs around. Across the plateau of Beds we come to the Maiden Bower on a low spur between two valleys, overlooked from the high downs, yet commanding a considerable view, and served by signals from various knolls, from the Five Knolls of Dunstable and from Totternhoe Clump from which one looks down the Vale of Aylesbury. In this district it would be unreasonable to infer that primitive men chose bad positions for their camps; the most savage tribes would have enough wit to throw out pickets to give signals. The neighbourhood was the scene of Mr. Worthington Smith's work, and he collected thousands of specimens of stone and bronze, besides investigating the funeral barrows. These two last camps are of about 10 acres each. The Way now winds below the Dunstable Downs and at the foot of Ivinghoe Beacon, travelling with many curves along the northern and western slope of the Chilterns, that is on the less sunny and wetter side. Near Risborough some 800 feet up are two camps, the small and strong Pulpit Hill, which is doubly ramparted on its weak side, and three miles off the 20-acre singly-ramparted Boddington Hill, with a view over the Vale; from Pulpit Hill on a clear day one can see Sinodun Hill, the celebrated clump on the lofty Berkshire bank of the Thames which travellers by the G.W.R. keep in sight for many a mile. In Saxon days the first bishop's seat for Wessex was fixed at Dorchester on the northern bank, overlooked by Sinodun. By one or other of the fords a passage was given to the Ashdown Range in Berkshire, where is the Ridge Way, of which the alternative name is Ickleton Street.

Behind Icknield Way, i.e. to the south-east, runs nearly

parallel to it from Ashridge Park by way of Berkhampstead, a course of 16 miles, till it suddenly disappears, the Grim's Dyke.[1] The ditch on its southern side shows resistance to an enemy coming from London up the valley, by which the L. & N.W.R. main line pierces the Chilterns. It is a dyke designed to cover the Way. And there are the remains of another dyke near Harrow, and of yet a third which forms a chord to the bend of the Thames between Wallingford and Henley.

In very many parts of England, on the moors of Yorkshire, on the Chilterns, on the Sussex Downs, on the Wiltshire Downs, on the lower slopes of the many hills crowned by camps, may be seen hill-side terraces, the result of farming. Now it may be an accident that these terraces, called lanchardes or lynchets or linches, occur just where prehistoric races lived. It is possible that they are the remains of the Anglo-Saxon system of common ploughing, which was practised both on slopes and on level land ; modern methods of farming have destroyed the Anglo-Saxon strips on the level, and the hill-side terraces may have thus survived accidentally. But, on the other hand, not only do they survive near old camps and barrows, but they may be considered the natural device of primitive man when first he learnt to grow corn. Everything shows how he clung to the ranges of hills above the swamps and the forests. So when he wanted to sow, he began on the slopes and cut out terraces so that his seed might not be washed away. Moreover, the soil was not too heavy ; he could not have worked low clay lands. On such a supposition we have to picture him first preparing the ground with hand labour, by means of flint spuds. The evidence goes to show that the Stone Age men had barely begun to sow corn, if they had begun at all, before the bronze men came. Hand-labour preceded the simplest plough. But the linches are not often cut out like Italian olive groves, they are not regular and rectangular. Usually they are in a series of curves meeting downwards at the tips, just occasionally upwards ;

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–515.

Mr. W. H. Stevenson gives alternative derivations or Grim, Grime, Græme ; a personal name of some Danish chieftain, as in Grimsby ; or a variant for Woden, the god who gave his name to the Wans Dyke, and who became the devil also in connection with dykes. *Eng. Hist. Review*, October, 1902, p. 629.

indeed, this fact suggests that after all they are the work of later men who used the plough, which could thus be dragged into a second linch when the first was finished. However, there are instances, though rare, of parallel linches.

Similarly sheep-breeding and weaving appear in the Bronze Age. Spindle-whorls, bits of hollowed stone or baked clay by which the spindles were made to revolve, and bone combs, not unlike what were used comparatively recently, show that the two arts of spinning and weaving were known. Ornamental daggers, amber beads, gold bracelets, and especially the fine twisted necklets or torques, show that art and love of finery were progressing. The men of the Bronze Age were not mere savages; the erection of the great stones of Stonehenge proves that. And they taught the arts to the descendants of the Stone Age race. The find at Heathery Burn Cave, in the west of Durham, showed bronze articles and narrow skulls together.[1] From the choicest articles found in barrows we may draw two portraits, the wealthy chief, "who had a complete set of bronze implements and weapons, and who could afford to decorate the handle of his blade with ivory, amber, or gold, to wear gold buttons on his clothing, sometimes even to adorn his charger with a gold peytrel (chest-piece), yet who shot arrows tipped with flint," and of his wife the Wiltshire dame "in full dress, with an amber necklace hanging over her bosom, gold bracelets on her arms, a pair of gold disks, bearing devices like a Greek cross, on her dress, and pins of bronze which shone like gold in her hair."[2] Yet the ordinary workaday dress was of skin, worked and softened by scrapers.

III.—The Iron Age

Some authorities fix the coming of the Iron Age tribes at about 400 B.C., others at 800 B.C. Whether the first batch of bronze-using tribes were or were not Celts may be doubted, but the iron-using Brythons, who have given their names to Britain and Briton, were Celts, neither narrow-headed nor round-headed. Behind them, and not long before the coming of Julius Cæsar, arrived Belgic tribes, who had probably a touch of Teutonic blood.

[1] Rice Holmes, pp. 157–63. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 131; and p. 167.

Linches. By permission of Mr. Beauchamp Wadmore *Face page* 34

The Brythons did not erect large barrows. They buried their dead either burnt or unburnt. At Aylesford in Kent a cemetery has been opened; there were found numbers of round pits in circular groups, 3½ feet deep, and containing urns with cremated ashes. Some of the urns were of the older type, hand-made and showing finger-marks; some were made on a wheel and artistic in appearance. But close by were stone coffins containing skeletons. The finds in some Iron Age camps are most interesting. At Bigberry Camp on Harbledown near Canterbury have been turned up a ploughshare, a goad, an iron wheel-tyre, a bit, etc.; at Hunsbury Camp[1] near Northampton 400 vessels of plain pottery and a few of the better make, a hundred querns for grinding corn, four kinds of grain, spindle-whorls and carding combs, twenty iron spear-heads, one perfect sword and the remains of two others, daggers of which one in its sheath, saws and various tools, pot-hooks, "one being perfect and as fine a specimen of iron-work as it is possible to conceive," a bit, three bosses of shields; in Yorkshire, with the skeleton of a man, two wheels and the skeletons of two ponies; at the Lake Dwellings near Glastonbury, besides articles similar to those above, reaping-hooks and tools, weights of tin and lead, amber beads, a jet ring, tweezers and toilet articles with rouge and antimony for beautifying the face, teeth that have been stopped, etc. Put shortly, the iron-using Britons regularly sowed and ploughed, had chariots and horses, used fine weapons and tools with which they could turn out artistic work, and did not disdain the arts of luxury. Connoisseurs call special attention to the Glastonbury bronze bowl, which is artistic in design and was mended with equal skill and artistic feeling; to a tankard found at Elveden in Suffolk; to the mirrors and the shields, on which are traced graceful curves and spirals.

The Hunsbury camp has been quarried recently for ironstone, and there we have the cause of its thorough exploration. Indeed, the Britons themselves originally settled there to quarry, and heaps of their slag were found. An important point is that they inhabited it permanently, whereas the earlier races used such a fort as Maiden Castle in time of

[1] Mr. T. J. George, the curator of the Northampton museum, in *Northants* V.C.H.

danger, and in peace left only a few watchers. Moreover, Hunsbury lies comparatively low, merely on a rising ground 170 feet above the Nen Valley, yet having a good view all round. It is an oval of four acres, 650 feet by 520, and not elaborately fortified. Relics of the Stone Age and Bronze Age in Northamptonshire are isolated and rare. Therefore at Hunsbury, and also at Borough Hill near Daventry, we find the Iron Age Britons breaking new ground by piercing into the Midlands, and so secure in their power and their iron swords that they had no need of strong defences; also there can have been but few men to fight. They simply came here to dig for ironstone. But the camp of Ham Hill in Somerset tells a different tale; here, where Stone Age men had first settled, the later trenches cut into the hard rock—the stone is still quarried, and has been and is used for many a Somerset church—were the work of the Iron Age. Perhaps an advance-guard of Britons pushing into this country and outnumbered by the older tribes felt the need to fortify strongly.

The famous Lake Village near Glastonbury was founded on a bed of peat on the edge of what was then a lake. "The village consists of a cluster of huts, mostly round, built upon artificial platforms of clay and timber, and surrounded by a stockade. . . . It was approached by two causeways on the north, the earlier of which was formed of blocks of lias, and is 10 to 14 feet wide and 130 feet long, while the latter was made of clay and lias rubble and is 100 feet long. Both stopped short by 12 or 14 feet of the entrance. The interval was occupied by water about 6 feet deep. It was defended by a stockade consisting of piles 3 to 9 inches in diameter packed closely together." The huts, resting on brushwood, and with floors of clay and timber and a central hearth each, constantly sank; then a new foundation was made and new huts built, until as many as ten floors are found one over another. Great oak beams mortised to receive cross-beams formed scaffolds. The last men who inhabited the place were spinners and weavers, who worked skilfully in wood and used lathes for their pottery, grew corn, and, as shown by the bones dug up, fed on game and wild birds as well as on beef and mutton. In war they used slings, for which they had a store of thousands of clay bullets, which they would hurl red-hot, as well as hand weapons. Their enemies were narrow-heads, descen-

dants of the old Stone Age race, for skulls have been found which had evidently been exposed on the stockade as trophies, one of them cleft by a sword-cut, and these are narrow skulls. Canoes, bits, wheels, iron slag, glass slag, jewellery, rouge, mirrors, etc., tell their own story.[1]

Worlebury Camp, above Weston-super-Mare, over ten acres in extent, was protected by an enormous wall of unmortared stone, except where the slope is steep, and on the weakest side by a second wall. Within are the remains of over 100 dwellings, showing permanent habitation, and the inhabitants were narrow-heads. The fortress was stormed, and the narrow skulls show signs of death by violence. Whether the Romans of Vespasian, or whether the iron-using Britons of pre-Roman days were the assailants, there is nothing to prove. At least we have the tale of an ancient race making its last stand on the edge of the sea. The fact that narrow skulls were exhibited as trophies at the Lake Village may—but only may—indicate war between these two settlements.

The country between the west end of the Mendips and the sea, as said in the last section, is covered with camps. Mr. Allcroft has made a special study of Dolebury, to which he gives a whole chapter. This camp is on the tip of the range as it sinks, near where the prehistoric road along the top of the range runs down to join on lower ground a track coming from the ford at Clifton. It would seem to have been thrown up to guard the mines; "the whole length of the northern half is pitted with the work of miners seeking for lead." There are two ramparts of loose stone and a most elaborate system of gate defences. The curious thing is that it can be entirely overlooked. Quite close by are the simple earthworks of another camp which Dolebury superseded.

In the south-west corner of Wiltshire, 850 feet up and overlooking a valley of which the bottom is nearly 500 feet above sea-level, in a country remote from railways, is the camp of Winkelbury of 12½ acres. It is a promontory fort, the hill spur being defended by slight ramparts on three sides and the base cut across by stronger ramparts so as to form two divisions, an outer and an inner area. Flint-using men once lived there, but the camp was erected by iron-using men.

[1] Professor Boyd Dawkins in the *Somerset* V.C.H. Objects in Glastonbury museum.

Why, asked General Pitt Rivers, should anyone build here in so poor a country? Probably the answer is that the invading Britons, finding themselves in the heart of the bronze men's country, fixed their headquarters here when conquering; near here, too, had been the crisis of the struggle between stone and bronze, and later would be the centre of British resistance against Saxons. Indeed a third and outermost area, covered by a third weak rampart, was used by the Saxons as a cemetery.

In Sussex is one camp thrown up by the iron race, Mount Caburn, east of Lewes. It is small, 400 feet by 350, and almost circular; the steep southern semicircle has one weak rampart and ditch, the northern two stronger ones; one entrance is protected by the ramparts being turned inwards, another is a simple gap. On this block of the South Downs there were two weak earlier camps.[1] The Britons, we will suppose, first fixed their headquarters here as they came up from the sea at Pevensey Level, and from here they had a view westwards towards Wolstonbury and other camps of the stone or bronze races. Over fifty little pits, their sides marked by the pattern of the wattling, were dwelling-places which prove permanent occupation; a large depression within was a dew-pond. Cissbury and the others were waterless, and merely defensive works against occasional danger.

When they finally had conquered, the Britons and Belgians cleared away the forests to some extent, so that they might plough. Cæsar describes them as a rich agricultural race, and he was himself able to collect as much corn as he needed for his armies. Hill-terraces were insufficient for them, and clearly they farmed out on the open. Even if they went to fight in war-paint they were anything but savages. Their skill with their light chariots and ponies, their use of wheeled carts for mineral traffic, and above all their ploughing over a considerable area, are signs of civilisation. A difficult question for such a people was that of the storage of their corn. In Kent and Essex are certain mysterious deep pits in the chalk, known as Dene Holes, which expand into lofty chambers at the bottom. So much has been written about them that it is impossible to read all the articles. A sensible explanation, which at least has the merit of combining the rival

[1] Allcroft, p. 677.

theories, is that first the Stone Age men dug into the chalk for flints and sunk both shafts and galleries; the pits being thus in existence were used as underground granaries by the men of the Iron Age; in the days of the Roman occupation more of the chalk was wanted as artificial manure for the land, and so they were greatly deepened; lastly, on various occasions, let us say at the time of the earliest Saxon invasions and later of the Danish raids, they were available as hiding-places and were called Dane Holes. But it is quite unnecessary to imagine all sorts of horrid Druidical rites taking place in these underground recesses. "The Chislehurst caves in particular have long enjoyed a blood-curdling notoriety as the scene of Druidical rites, but are of very recent origin indeed."[1]

As to the mineral traffic, we may still believe what we read in our old histories that the Phœnicians got tin from the Scilly islands and Cornwall, which were called the Cassiterides. Pytheas, a Greek explorer from Massilia (Marseilles), sailed round from the Mediterranean to the Channel a little before 300 B.C.; unluckily his report is only known to us at second-hand. He said that the tin was brought from inland on wheeled carts and across to the island of Ictis at low tide, thence shipped to the west coast of Gaul, and conveyed by pack-horses to Massilia. The tribe of the Veneti of Brittany were bold sailors in Cæsar's time, and their ancestors of 300 years before Cæsar were doubtless competent to sail the rough seas past the island of Ushant to Cornwall. Therefore why try to translate Ictis as Vectis, i.e. the Isle of Wight, or even as the Isle of Thanet? St. Michael's Mount exactly suits. Then going further back in date, why limit the voyages of the Phœnicians for tin to Spain? The only tin islands that suit the story would be the Scillies and the tip of Cornwall reported to be an island.[2] The mystery of the Cassiterides is due to the natural wish of the merchants to keep secret the place whence came so valuable a mineral. Iron we have found mined at Hunsbury in Northants, probably elsewhere. The Britons used iron bars as money, and specimens of these are in our museums. - That they mined for lead is certain, for the Romans did so as soon as ever they had conquered as

[1] Allcroft, pp. 248-9. Rice Holmes, pp. 515-17.
[2] Rice Holmes, pp. 483 seq.

far as the Mendips, which implies that the mines were already in use.

Some interest attaches to the figures on hill-sides which are formed by cutting away the grass to show the white chalk. Figures of men are to be seen in Sussex and Dorset; and there are several White Horses, the most famous being in Berkshire on the down overlooking the vale to which it gives its name; others on the Marlborough Downs south of Avebury, on the Westbury Downs just below Bratton Castle, and near Weymouth. The Berkshire horse is a roughly drawn, sprawling figure, the others have been, it seems, touched up in modern times and are more artistic. Do they represent Saxon victories over the Danes? Two are near possible sites of Alfred's battles, we might even say of very highly probable sites; and this seems to be more than a mere coincidence. On the other hand, all four are near camps or monuments of earlier date, and experts look upon them as of British origin, being copied from the horses, sprawling and inartistic, which are displayed on early coins. The first British coins were copied from those of Philip of Macedon, grotesque imitations indeed, but valuable as presenting the love for horses which characterised the skilled charioteers who opposed and won the respect of Julius Cæsar.

The British and Belgic tribes may have had some taste towards town life, yet Cæsar's evidence is clear that they retreated to their camps, situated amongst forests, only on emergencies. Various earthworks in the neighbourhood of Colchester point to the need that the Trinobantes felt for defending their central position, Camulodunum, named after the British war-god Camal; the account given by Tacitus of the Roman occupation of Colchester implies that there was a considerable settlement of Trinobantes here, and that they were turned out by the Roman colonists. Thus one can picture a town rather than a mere rallying-place in time of danger. Similarly the Catuvellauni had a tribal centre at Verulam, low down on the Ver; probably the Belgæ had a settlement on the Itchen on the site of Roman and medieval Winchester, the weak camp on St. Catharine's Hill being a valuable look-out post as it commands so many valleys, but not so suitable for a town. The Atrebates at Silchester had a settlement of some 200 acres behind a single rampart. That

there was a pre-Roman London may be taken for certain, and the account of the campaign of A.D. 43 even mentions bridges. Whether such a statement can be taken literally may be doubted. But at least the history of Cæsar's second invasion in 54 B.C., as well as of Plautius's advance in A.D. 43, points to the tribes of both banks of the Thames being allied; Cassivellaunus and Caratacus alike fall back before the Roman arms across the Thames.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN BRITAIN

LET us begin our account of Roman Britain by going across the water. Very many people land at Calais or Boulogne, but few explore the charming country around. Yet it teems with interest. From this coast Cæsar invaded and Napoleon tried to invade. Saxons settled along the shore and inland, even as they did in England. St. Augustine sailed from Ambleteuse to Richborough. The Count of Boulogne came over with William the Conqueror, and his heiress married King Stephen. The Hundred Years' War saw many a landing of English troops, let alone the capture of Calais. In literature Sterne and Dickens have celebrated the great road, *cette belle route blanche*, bordered by a double line of poplars, deserted now except by a few carts and motors, but once alive with traffic between Paris and Calais, still called Road Number One ; thoughts come crowding of the ambassadors and great men who have rolled along it, of Mr. Lorry and his anxious fellow-fugitives, who were ever looking back to see if they were being followed, yet had to hide their fears, while poor Carton they knew must have gone to the guillotine. Boulogne was later the refuge for out-at-elbows Englishmen fraudulently or innocently bankrupt. A man must be indeed dull if he cannot picture Colonel Newcome pacing with boy the ramparts of the *haute ville*, while he knows that within one of those dingy lodging-houses the awful Mrs. Mackenzie is waiting to lash the poor old man with her pitiless tongue.

Did Julius Cæsar start to invade Britain from Boulogne, both in 55 B.C. and in 54 B.C. ? Or from Wissant ? Or in 55 from Boulogne and in 54 from Wissant ? The argument in favour of Boulogne is that military men consider the harbour and the banks of the River Liane most suitable for the embarkation of an army ; in this case the cavalry transports

would have started from Ambleteuse, six miles to the north. He says himself that in 55 he started at midnight after the fifth day before a full moon, that at 9 a.m. he anchored under cliffs in full view of the Britons, while the tide ran back, and at 4 p.m., favoured by wind and returning tide, proceeded seven miles further on to an open beach. The experts consulted by Dr. Rice Holmes allow that under the given conditions he would have crossed from Boulogne to Dover, from Dover to between Deal and Walmer. But in 55 he had with him only two legions, and a fleet capable of carrying that force could clear the harbour bar of Boulogne at one high tide. In 54 he had more than twice that number, and would have required two tides. Therefore the rival theory in favour of Wissant is supported by the nature of the beach, a wide expanse of sand lying under the shelter of Cap Gris Nez, on the side remote from Boulogne, where ships could be hauled down to sea and start together without a wearisome wait for a second tide. There is yet the third theory. Cæsar only names *Portus Itius* as his starting-place in 54, and tells us that he found it most suitable. Can this mean that he sailed the one year from Boulogne, but chose *Portus Itius*, i.e. Wissant, in the second year because suitable for the larger fleet and army? The natural interpretation of his words is that he used the same harbour each year, yet some scholars are inclined to believe that he made the change.[1] Similarly there has been doubt as to whether he landed near Hythe or, as said above, on the east coast of Kent.

Let us imagine the second landing to be on the east coast a little further up towards Sandwich. Cassivellaunus made no effort to oppose the Romans on the beach, but took up a position inland. Cæsar advanced a dozen Roman miles, found the Britons posted behind a river, crossed it, charged up the further slope, and stormed a camp on the edge of a wood. A battle on the Stour near the site of the future Canterbury suits the story. Cassivellaunus would naturally take up ground where the Pilgrims' Way descends to a ford over the river; a camp is to be found in Bigberry Wood, just behind;

[1] Long's notes to Cæsar strike one as most sensible.
Rice Holmes in *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* favoured Wissant, and in *Ancient Britain* wrote hotly in favour of Boulogne; now he has adopted the third theory, having recanted in the *Classical Review*.

the distance agrees.[1] Continuing his march after the delay caused by a storm Cæsar reached the Thames, and we must allow that he crossed opposite to Brentford, for he says that stakes made his passage difficult, and sharp strong stakes have been found during dredging operations there and there only. Finally he reached and stormed a camp to which the tribes had retreated with their cattle, probably *Verulamium;* Tasciovanus, a chieftain who minted both gold and silver coins at Verulam, reigned about twenty-five years after Cæsar's departure, and a place important in 30 B.C. is likely enough to have been important also in 54 B.C., as the rallying-point of the Britons; the earthworks along the south and west sides, where the Romans afterwards added their wall, are still considerable.[2] With probabilities we have to be content. Yet the time and labour which scholars have expended in tracing Cæsar's steps have not been wasted, and indeed only prove the interest which we cannot but feel in studying the earliest invasions of Britain by those mighty Romans, especially as the pages of the warrior author are the first which we read in class. Camps which he threw up for his legions at each stage it is impossible to recover, because slight temporary lodgings for a single night soon disappear.

The permanent conquest dates from the despatch of Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43 by the Emperor Claudius. The hero of the defence was Caratacus or Caradoc, who was son of Cunobelinus or Cymbeline, and grandson of Tasciovan. Again we hear of a defeat of the Britons and of the passage of a river[3] in the face of difficulties. The Roman arms advanced to *Camulodunum* (Colchester), where they made their first base and where soon rose the temple of the god-emperor Claudius. The conquest of the south and south-west by the future Emperor Vespasian was, if not easy, at least quick. Already before A.D. 49 the lead mines of the Mendips were being worked for the Emperor's benefit. A pig of lead bears the

[1] Rice Holmes, pp. 678–85.

[2] Sir John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, and article in *Herts* V.C.H.

[3] A difficulty is caused because Caratacus is said to have crossed by "bridges." Can this mean "where bridges now exist," i.e. when the historian wrote? or is it a vague word for "crossing-places, shallows"? The authority is Dio Cassius, lx. 20.

inscription, "BRITANNIC . AUG . FI," and "V. ET P."[1] the boy Britannicus was the recognised heir of Claudius Augustus up to 49, and the other letters are considered to indicate the consuls Veranius and Pompeius.

Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius, and fought the Silures and Ordovices of the west towards whom Caradoc retreated. To enable his main force to be moved westwards Ostorius settled a colony of Roman veterans to hold Colchester, and in A.D. 50 he came upon the enemy in the country where now Radnorshire meets Herefordshire and Shropshire. It may be that the scene of the fight was Caer Caradoc, high up above the Teme. The Romans locked their shields together so as to form tortoise, stormed the steep hill, where a rough stone wall had been thrown up to strengthen the entrenchments, and thus established their rule along the Severn. Whether before or after the victory, a military base was made at *Viroconium* (Wroxeter) on the left bank of the Severn for the 14th "Twin Martian" legion; Watling Street was at an early date engineered to strike the river here, and here have been found tombstones of men of the 14th.[2] The military base of the 2nd "Augustan" legion may have been originally at *Glevum* (Gloucester), but was doubtless at this time fixed at *Isca Silurum* (Caerleon-on-Usk). The 20th "Valerian Victorious" had its base at *Deva* (Chester), and on the other side of Britain the 9th "Spanish" reached *Lindum* (Lincoln). By A.D. 70 the base at Wroxeter was given

[1] Haverfield, *Somerset* V.C.H.

[2] For the events of the year 50, Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 31–35, with Furneaux's notes and introduction. There is a vexed passage which as it stands cannot be translated; *Cuncta castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.* (1) If *inter* be inserted, still the River *Antona* cannot be identified: it is an unscholarly guess to suppose it to be the Nen and to imagine Ostorius constructing a line of forts across the Midlands from Nen to Severn; *castris* could only mean a legionary fortress, and forts would be *castellis*. But the legend that Ostorius built these forts is ever cropping up, and it is seriously argued that *Antona* is the Nen because the Saxon North*ampton* is on it. (2) If we read *Avonam inter*, Wroxeter might be meant. But (3) our authorities prefer to correct to *cuncta cis Triantonam et Sabrinam*; i.e. he reduced Britain south of Trent and east of Severn. Two tombstones of soldiers of the 14th were found at Wroxeter, and one of a soldier of the 20th; Haverfield, *Shropshire* V.C.H. That Ostorius advanced the 2nd to Caerleon is clear from Tacitus; *Silurum gens castris legionum premenda foret*, where *castris* indicates a legionary base. The other Caer Caradoc in Shropshire would suit the story equally well.

up and the 14th was withdrawn from Britain; in the next century the 9th was advanced to York, and Lincoln ceased to be a legionary fortress.

It will be as well to give some general considerations concerning the remains left behind by the Romans in Britain, before taking the places according to their geography or their historical importance as regards dates.

The road system of the Romans is given us in the *Itinerarium*, the road-book of the Empire, which was compiled under one of the Antonine emperors, and was doubtless often re-edited. The section which deals with Britain may be dated in the form which we possess at about A.D. 225–35, or it may be as late as A.D. 300.[1] It gives a series of *itinera*, from London to the Great Wall by way of Colchester and Lincoln and York, from the Wall to Richborough by way of York and Chester and London, from Silchester by way of Winchester and Dorchester to Exeter, and so on, fifteen journeys in all. Distances between the towns are given; the record is not, indeed, always true to the actual distances, but copyists soon make mistakes in figures. Other Roman roads which the Itinerary ignores certainly existed. The discovery of Roman remains, the straightness of some stretch which points direct to some undoubted Roman settlement, and other signs, enable us to add to the information which it gives. Thus the Stane Street between London and Chichester, the Peddars' Way in Norfolk, the section of Erming Street nearest to London, are not to be found in it, yet are recognised as Roman roads. It may be that our edition of the Itinerary is incomplete, yet the presumption is that some of these roads were plotted at a later date.

The chief feature of Roman streets, as everybody knows, is straightness. Yet they run rather in a series of straight zigzags between points than in a continuous straight line from terminus to terminus. The aim of the engineers was to lay their track over high ground, so as to have a firm, dry foundation, and to avoid forests and possible ambush. They built, in the first place, for military needs; trade might afterwards follow, and of course did follow, the eagles. They took

[1] Dates as given by Professors Haverfield and Tait respectively. The earlier date allows for earlier construction of the roads which are not given in it.

their points, this conspicuous hill and that conspicuous knoll, and laid the line between, and it may be that some particular hill or knoll was not on the actual street; for instance, a stretch of Watling Street, which we call the Edgeware Road, lies almost accurately between Brockley Hill and Sydenham Hill, but the latter is some miles off and was simply taken as a point; there is another instance in Scotland where the Eildon Hills were taken, and students can find others in country that they know. Next the engineers were not slaves to the theory of straightness even between points. They altered their course, and swerved round to avoid too steep a descent into a hollow, or two passages over a brook. They sometimes went along a shoulder of a hill in place of crossing it straight up and down; for instance, they took the shoulder of Bignor Hill in Sussex because a straight approach to the top of the ridge would have been at too steep a gradient.

Our present highways very often run exactly over the Roman streets. In some places where the gradients were very steep the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century engineers made cuttings, or else slight detours so as to rejoin the Roman line later. The Angles and Saxons preferred to settle away from the streets.[1] The consequence is that in many parts of the country the line of some street is lost, or appears as a grass-grown track away from human habitation, while the modern road connects the villages; and often enough the street is the boundary between parish and parish, or between county and county. Several instances may be quoted; Erming Street crossed the Nen at Castor and the Welland at Stamford; the importance of Peterborough caused a diversion, and the two chief river-places in the Middle Ages were Peterborough and Stamford. An alternative consequence in other districts is that the turnpike keeps to the exact Roman line, the old villages are to be found a few miles or several miles to right and left, and new eighteenth-century villages with inns and posting-houses are on the street; any one who knows Watling Street can find instances. Medieval St. Albans caused Watling Street to diverge and Roman Verulam was deserted; on the other hand, medieval Dunstable thrived as soon as ever Henry I built a priory on Watling Street where

[1] See below, p. 113.

it cuts the Icknield Way, but within the last forty years has been outstripped by Luton, which is served by the Midland Railway.

It is therefore of considerable interest to trace the courses taken by Roman streets, medieval roads or post-medieval turnpikes, and modern railways. Often the same places have to be connected, such as London and Lincoln ; Erming Street ran by way of Cambridge and then swerved westwards to Huntingdon, the Great North Road and the G.N.R. go nearly straight to Huntingdon ; the street missed the site of the future Peterborough and took Stamford, the railway takes Peterborough and misses Stamford. Watling Street and the M.R. climb the Chilterns nearly side by side to St. Albans ; the street then enters a thinly populated country, climbs and descends various ridges, and finally falls to meet the L. & N.W.R. near Fenny Stratford—a name which explains itself. On the watershed between Yorkshire and Westmorland street and railway traverse a gap side by side, the one on the shoulder of the moor, the other along the bottom of the valley. So, in a general sense, they follow the same directions and connect the same centres, London with Chester, London with the mouth of the Severn, Manchester with York, but the courses may be widely different. We must not think of Roman streets as mere isolated single tracks. There were systems of streets with branches and connections just as there are systems of railways, a south-eastern, a south-western and western, a north-western, a northern and eastern. The main street was clearly the earliest, a military causeway leading through the heart of each district to the terminus which was the military base of some particular campaign, such as Wroxeter or Lincoln. Then, as each district was gradually reduced to peace, cross-roads would spring up to connect the centres of population, for instance, the Fosse Way between Lincoln and Bath.

Earth was turned up from two parallel ditches, and between them was formed a bed upon which was raised a ridge like a rampart, a causeway or *agger*. The Roman writer Vitruvius, who was an architect and lived in the reign of Augustus, has described for us how a Roman pavement was laid, and a piece of the Fosse Way near Radstock in Somerset, between Bath and Exeter, has been found, on investigation, to correspond

Roman Road, the Ackling Dyke in Dorset

Badbury Rings, Dorset

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very closely to his description. The various layers of material are as follows from bottom to top :

1. Original soil on a level with the surface of the adjacent fields.
2. *Statumen ;* rubble stones without lime, 5 inches deep at the centre.
3. *Rudus ;* a bed of concrete, broken stones mixed with lime, 15 inches.
4. *Nucleus ;* fine pounded material, mixed with lime and well rammed, 10½ inches.
5. *Summum Dorsum ;* paving stones, 4 or 5 inches thick, of all sizes and shapes, and firmly cemented.[1]

Thus was formed a ridge well above the surrounding surface, a sort of raised backbone, high and dry, compact. The edge of each layer is thinner than the centre, so that the street was rounded, and grooves were usually cut to help the wheeled traffic. A portion of the Sussex Stane Street on Halnaker Hill aiming straight at Chichester, and a similar portion climbing Bignor Hill, covered over with mould and grass, look like the rampart of some deserted camp. Ackling Dyke, the present name of a part of the Roman road between Old Sarum and Badbury, is almost untouched on the downs in the north-east of Dorset. " It runs for some miles in a straight line in bold sharp relief over the open down, and the magnitude of the work and its situation are alike imposing."[2] But the material of the various layers was not always the same ; earth, chalk, flints, pebbles, rubble, and especially gravel, were laid in alternate streaks and rammed tight, according as the Roman engineers found the stuff handy. A description given of Watling Street where it was discovered beneath the present High Street of Rochester varies from what we are told of the road at Radstock ; of course, here we have to go upon the assumption that the work, found far below the surface of the existing road in the middle of a Roman town, must be Roman, for we do not know what other nation would have taken such trouble in the way of road-construction.[3]

[1] Forbes and Burmester, *Our Roman Highways*, pp. 85–88 ; quoting Mr. McMurtrie, *Bath Field Club*.

[2] Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 308.

[3] George Payne, *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi ; quoted by Codrington.

1. Carefully prepared bed of sand, earth, and flints, 15 inches.
2. Chalk, rammed in, 6 inches.
3. Angular gravel, rammed in, 12 inches.
4. Flints, laid in, 6 inches.
5. Angular gravel, 14 inches.
6. Accumulated earth and debris topped by the line of the present pavement, 7 feet.

Where the Roman engineers had to traverse marshy ground to reach a ford or to cross a fen, they laid down piles of timber or brushwood as a foundation. The causeway which ran westwards from the bed of the Medway opposite to Rochester to the foot of Strood Hill was thus composed :[1]

1. Marsh mud containing curious worked piles about 4 feet in length, with pieces of wood laid at intervals above them, and perhaps finally made fast with nails.
2. Flints, whole and rather large, rough pieces of Kentish rag and broken Roman tile, 42 inches.
3. Rammed chalk, 5 inches.
4. Flints broken fine, 7 inches.
5. Small pebble gravel mixed with black earth rammed, 9 inches.
6. Paved surface of the causeway, Kentish rag boulders cut polygonally, the interstices having been filled in with very fine pebble gravel, 6 to 8 inches thick.
7. Layers of post-Roman road, 32 inches.

The approximate width of this causeway was 14 feet, and grooves were visible when the pavement was exposed.

We can see comparatively little of Roman remains in Britain. Builders in all ages, farmers in search for material, engineers who have wanted to macadamise a modern road, have contributed to destroy both Roman streets and Roman buildings. Stones bearing inscriptions, coins, pottery, tiles, and other relics, may be seen in museums. In the City of London several pieces of the old wall have been seen from time to time when exposed by digging for foundations or for drains, and drawings and photographs may be seen in *Archæologia*, but all that we know is that south of "London Wall" we are walking some 10 to 15 feet above the level

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii.

of Roman London. Similarly Roman Winchester has disappeared. At York may be seen a tower and a stretch of wall, at Colchester several stretches of wall and a ruined gateway, and probably an inner citadel, while a very great many Roman tiles have been taken to build the Norman castle and priory. In some cities the lines of the present streets correspond to the main Roman thoroughfares. On many other sites there is nothing but a ring of wall, whether almost intact or surviving in small pieces, while the area within where once was the Roman town is covered with fields. In every age the buildings when once deserted by the Romans have been used as quarries, and often the dressed stones of the face of the walls have been picked out so as to leave but a core of rubble.

The various Roman settlements in Britain require classification. The three great permanent legionary fortresses, the *Castra Stativa*, must be distinguished from the smaller forts or *Castella* which were held for shorter or longer periods on the frontiers or in the wilder parts. Military places must be kept distinct from the civil towns. Moreover, we have to remember that the Roman occupation lasted for over three and a half centuries. Possibly, for all that we know, Vespasian may have used Winchester or Exeter as a military base in his early campaign of conquest in the south, but all this country was subdued and pacified so quickly that the Romans never had to keep here a permanent military force; on the other hand, the fortresses of the Saxon shore were garrisoned only in the later part of the occupation. During the greater part of these three and a half centuries a line drawn from Caerleon-on-Usk to Chester, and from Chester to York, marks the boundary between the west and north held down by soldiers, and the centre and south peaceful and in no need of garrisons; the district of the Peak would have, however, to be added to the wilder parts where forts were necessary. Inside the line soldiers would rarely ever be even seen, unless they were recruits coming from the Continent, or time-expired men returning to the Continent, or unless there were a civil war on foot. This consideration is necessary, because certain writers who have the gift of imagination love to picture full garrisons of Roman troops at every place where Roman remains have been found; they dwell on the horrors

of Roman rule, and try to harrow our souls by descriptions of cruel legionaries ever plundering the poor cowering Britons; they write of pre-Roman hill-forts as though they were nests of Roman tyrants and spoilers, and of the forts of the Saxon shore, which were designed really to protect Britain from pirates, as if they were centres of despotism. In truth the armed force at the three military bases, on the Great Wall, and at the various outlying posts, averaged perhaps 40,000 men; to satisfy these imaginative writers the Romans would have had to maintain during the full three and a half centuries at least a quarter of a million. The historian Tacitus blames the Britons for having succumbed only too easily to the Roman ideas of civilisation, wearing the dress and speaking the language of Rome, becoming "humanised," and not understanding that they were thereby on the path towards slavery. Another well-known passage from Tacitus tells us that the Roman armies made a solitude and called it peace, but we are apt to forget that these words are put into the mouth of a fierce Caledonian chieftain, and are not to be taken as applying to southern Britain, where were accepted the full benefits of the *Pax Romana* without slavery.

A legion was composed of Roman citizens, but under that term are to be included provincials upon whom citizenship had been bestowed; Julius Cæsar, in his conquest of Gaul, had recruited non-Romans from the north of Italy into the ranks of the regulars, and his lead had been followed. The men were drawn from various parts of the Empire, and the 9th, for instance, we saw was known as the Spanish. Such Britons as were made citizens and recruited for the imperial service were sent off to a legion serving upon the Rhine, and were not drafted into the corps in Britain itself. The strength of a legion averaged between 5000 and 6000 infantry,[1] with but a small addition of cavalry. The military reforms of the later Empire of the fourth century much altered the status of the soldiers, but it is difficult to say exactly what effect these reforms had in Britain, because down to the end there was a difference between legionary and non-legionary. It has been thought, but perhaps this is rather of the nature

[1] Ten cohorts of 500 men each, but the "first cohort" was at double strength.

of guesswork, that towards the end of the fourth century, when the Empire was being shaken to its foundations by constant civil war, the ranks here were largely filled up by Britons or by the children of soldiers born in Britain. The picture of a soldier ready for action is as follows: he had a close helmet, a breastplate, and greaves; his knees were free, for it was essential that he should be quick in his movements; he covered his body with a long oblong shield, curving inwards, into which he crouched, and he approached his enemy left shoulder forward; all that could be seen of him would be his greaved legs and his gleaming eyes between helmet and shield. The genuine Roman was a short wiry fellow, and came up with springy instep and catlike tread. He threw his short heavy *pilum* or javelin; then he drew his broad-bladed, double-edged and pointed *gladius*, which was rather a big knife than a sword, from his right hip; for the draw he turned his hand outwards, thumb down, to grasp the handle, and an upward pull followed by two turns of his wrist and a backward swing of his arm brought the blade into position for a deadly ripping stab or a slash to right or left. There is a graphic and gruesome picture in Livy of the awe of the Macedonians when first they saw the bodies of their friends slashed and mangled by Roman swords; they and the Greeks had been accustomed to less gory spear-thrusts.

The legionary fortress at York, first of the 9th legion and afterwards of the 6th, was on the left bank of the Ouse and occupied 52 acres.[1] It was nearly square, and its four gates were not quite in the middle of its four walls. Bootham Bar is on the site of the north-west gateway, and Petergate runs up from it to meet Stangate; perhaps a southerner needs to be told that in York the streets are "gates," and the gates are "bars." The lower part of the multangular western tower and of a stretch of adjoining wall is Roman, and the stone-work of the face is adorned by a band of tiles five deep; the lower courses of the opposite wall near Monk Bar are also Roman, with the medieval wall built above. At Chester, the head-quarters of the 20th, the lower courses of

[1] T. P. Cooper, *York*. It is very annoying to find wrong figures given in some would-be authoritative book, e.g. the *York* in the "Historic Towns" series.

the east and north walls are Roman, and Roman tombstones are built in. Work was done by the legionaries themselves. They were handy men in every way, engineers, workmen, masons, bricklayers, and brick-makers, as well as infantrymen. They made tiles or shallow bricks, also tiles for roofing and draining, and their officers coming round to inspect the work marked every fiftieth, or it may be every hundredth, with the official legionary stamp. Thus a title stamped "LEG . IX . HISP," or "LEG . XX . VV" explains itself; one of the former was found in a Northants village near Erming Street, which leads to Lincoln, the first home of the 9th Spanish; one of the latter also in Northants near Watling Street, which leads to Chester, the base of 20th Valerian Victorious. Thus soldiers were at some period working on the roads some distance away from their respective legionary forts.[1] The chief part of the work done on the Great Wall and on Antonine's Wall was done by legionaries, each legion having its allotted sections. Headquarters were at Caerleon or Chester or York, but the men were sent to any place where they were wanted.

When on the march, campaigning in a hostile country, the Roman armies threw up earthworks for temporary occupation, and naturally enough such slight defences have mostly disappeared in Britain; yet in Scotland we have the great camp of 130 acres at Ardoch, and the medium-sized camp of 50 acres at Inchtuthil not very far from Perth, which may be put down as the resting-places of Agricola's army. The former could have accommodated a very large force, for a certain Hyginus, writing about A.D. 100, in the reign of Trajan, gives 80 acres as sufficient for three legions on the march, with a due proportion of cavalry and auxiliaries, some 40,000 men in all.[2] Hyginus gives the dimensions of such a camp as about 740 yards long by 520 broad. Where it was possible, the width was two-thirds of the length. Two streets divided the area into three sections, the *prætorium* or headquarters building being in the centre of the middle section. The legionary soldiers themselves were encamped in tents on the outside nearest to the earth rampart, and the cavalry and auxiliaries behind them. His plan varies from that given by Polybius, who wrote about 150 B.C., and who has de-

[1] Haverfield, *Northants* V.C.H.
[2] Article on *Castra* in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary.

scribed a nearly square camp accommodating two legions with Latins and other Italians.

In contrast to the *castra*, whether the large permanent legionary camps or the temporary camps on the march, are the *castella*. These were small permanent forts designed to keep down wild and newly acquired country, and are to be found along the borders of Wales, in Derbyshire, and the north of England generally where the fierce tribe of the Brigantes held out for a long time against the Romans, and in Scotland almost as far as Perth. They were invariably occupied by *auxilia*, non-Roman troops, whether cohorts of infantry or wings of cavalry, and the men were drawn from any part of the Roman Empire, Spain, Gaul, the lower Rhine, the Adriatic coast, and so on. In contrast to the legionary soldiers these auxiliaries were armed with thrusting spears and long swords.[1] In the fort at Birrens we find in garrison a cohort of Tungrians—their name is preserved in the modern Belgian name of Tongres—1000 strong, with a proportion of cavalry, who enjoyed the peculiar half-citizenship which is known as "Latin Rights." The forts at Manchester and at Melandra in north-west Derbyshire, ten miles from Manchester, were at least partly built by a cohort of Frisiavones, inscriptions upon stones recording that so many feet of work had been done by these men ; their name survives in Friesland. The area of the *castellum* might be anything between one and ten acres. Three acres, that is to say an area of about 120 yards each way, could house about 500 men ; the five acres at Manchester nearly 1000 men. Naturally the posts varied very much in size according to the military nature of the district which had to be held down. The largest, at Newstead near Melrose, was originally a little over ten acres, and was afterwards enlarged ; in the south of Scotland forts are often found to have been enlarged, and also the defences were much more extensive and elaborate than in South Britain, which shows how the Romans had a wholesome awe of the untamed Caledonian tribes. The rampart is in some places of earth, in others of earth upon a foundation of stone, or of earth with a facing of stone, or, as at Manchester, entirely of stone. Sometimes timbers have been found used to prop

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 35. "*Gladiis et pilis legionariorum . . . spathis et hastis auxiliarium.*"

up the earth and prevent subsidence. A single rampart and ditch was usually sufficient, but in the extreme north double and treble fortifications are found, and at Birrens and the small fort of Ardoch there was a whole series of extra broad trenches designed to keep the enemy's slingers well out of distance. As to the situation, a fort may be on a main road, as at Newstead, on a cross-road, or at a junction of roads, as at Manchester; Hard Knot in Cumberland stands alone in a remote inhospitable country. Not many forts can be dated. We saw just now that the tradition[1] that Ostorius erected a string of forts from the Severn to the Nen is quite wrong, being based upon a mistranslation of a passage in Tacitus. Forts were thrown up in Wales, or near Wales, also doubtless in the Brigantian territory, before the days of Agricola. It is on record that Agricola systematically planted them over both the Welsh and the Brigantian country, but we can never be sure that this or that individual fort is his. In Scotland we can trace his work at Newstead, Camelon, Bar Hill, Ardoch. Finds of coins and pottery may give the clue to a date, or an inscription may tell us that some piece of work was done by a particular legion or a particular body of auxiliaries under this or that emperor; but we have to be careful, and such a piece of work may have been of the nature of reconstruction. Indeed, very many forts were rebuilt, or strengthened, or enlarged, and at Newstead work of four separate periods has been traced. At Elslack in Yorkshire, and also at Bar Hill on Antonine's Wall, a small and probably Agricolan fort has been traced within a larger and later area. Lastly, we must distinguish from these inland military posts the nine fortresses of the Saxon shore; some of them old forts strengthened with new defences, others quite new fortifications, which were thrown up in the fourth century when the Roman Empire was tottering to its fall, and when there was a strong need to protect Britain against German pirates.

The plan of a permanent *castellum* is but a reduced copy of the camp as described by Hyginus, except that in place of tents and temporary quarters permanent buildings were erected, in certain few instances of timber, but usually of solid stone. Hard Knot is almost square; but the usual shape is an oblong divided into a larger and a smaller area

[1] See page 45.

by a street, the *via principalis*. The *prætorium* was aligned with the *via principalis*, and was surrounded by store-houses and official buildings and officers' quarters; inside the *prætorium* was a shrine where the military standards were kept, and below the shrine a strong vault where would be housed the treasure-chest. The *via prætoria* running across the camp parallel to the longer sides was therefore blocked by the *prætorium*. The rest of the camp would be occupied by the barracks of the men.[1]

The mere fact that a name ends in *chester* or *caster* or *cester* does not necessarily imply that the Saxons found a Roman fort at the place. They may have given the termination to a village because a Roman villa was near or a small settlement. Moreover, earthworks even of the orthodox Roman shape are not necessarily military. Many places on the roads were posting-stations rather than forts or camps. Of course, the station of *Manduessedum* (Mancetter), seven acres in area, 200 yards by 150 yards, which bestrides Watling Street,—half in Leicestershire and half in Warwickshire, for the Saxons here made the street a county boundary,—may have been a fort when Ostorius was campaigning against Caratacus; and the same may be true of *Etocetum* (Wall, in Staffordshire). But such places were not wanted as forts from Agricola's time onwards. The earthworks at Hardham, on the Sussex Stane Street, and so too at other places, must be judged in the same way. Again, when we find traces of Roman occupation of an old British camp it is unnecessary to conclude that a Roman detachment permanently held the place. A temporary, indeed a very short, occupation during the period of Vespasian's conquest of the south would account for the Roman remains at Ham Hill in Somerset; portions of a fine cuirass were the great find here. At Hod Hill in Dorset a small force once rested and entrenched themselves in the upper corner within the wide British camp.

Of the civil towns the *coloniæ* rank first. Their inhabitants were full Roman citizens. Four of them are to be found in Britain; Colchester was organised as a colony by Ostorius, when he planted veteran soldiers there that he might be free to march with the legions westwards, "to prevent revolt

[1] Plans will be found in Professor Haverfield's article in the *Derbyshire* V.C.H.

and to induce the Britons to obey the laws." In the Itinerary it is named as *Colonia*, the colony par excellence, or as *Camulodunum*. The temple of the god-emperor Claudius marked it as the chief place of Roman rule when it was new.[1] But when Boadicea rose the colonists were but few. The other three were Gloucester, Lincoln when it ceased to be a legionary fortress, and the colony of York, which was on the opposite bank of the Ouse to the legionary fortress which superseded Lincoln. One might infer that they were originally organised to accommodate veterans; Julius Cæsar and Augustus founded a great number of colonies outside Italy for this purpose. But under later emperors a colony simply had honorary rank, and Hadrian converted provincial towns in Gaul and elsewhere to be colonies without settling in soldiers or other new inhabitants. So in Britain these four were doubtless at the head of the civilian towns, proud of their rank, self-governed, including we may take it Britons on whom full citizenship had been bestowed, and no longer solely inhabited by veterans. A *municipium* was below a *colonia* in point of dignity, yet it was self-governed and its townsmen were full citizens. The difference between the two was that the *municipium* " existed " already as a native town and had citizenship conferred on it; whereas the *colonia* was " brought in," either to a new site, or to a native town whence natives were expelled; e.g. the original colonists at Colchester dispossessed[2] the Trinobantes, who in turn joined Boadicea to destroy them. In Gaul *Lugdunum* (Lyon) was a colony and *Vienna* (Vienne) was a municipality with full citizenship; the colonists said that they were Roman soldiers and the municipals were foreigners and enemies. Put Colchester for Lyon, and Verulam for Vienne; then the difference is clear. As a matter of fact there was no such jealousy between Verulam and Colchester, and the inhabitants of Verulam took the side of Rome and were massacred by Boadicea. This is the only known *municipium* in Britain.[3] Doubtless as

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 13: " *Templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx æternæ dominationis aspiciebatur.*"

[2] *Ibid*: " *Quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris.*"

[3] W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, pp. 218–221. Tacitus, *Histories*, i, 65. The Lugdunenses denounced Vienna: " *Cuncta illic externa et hostilia, se coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus.*"

centuries went by the legal difference between the two classes of towns was less sharp.

Next we have a series of British tribal towns, *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester), *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), *Isca Dumnuniorum* (Exeter), *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent), *Viroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter)—being no longer a legionary fortress after A.D. 70,—and *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor-by-Norwich). The area varies from the 170 acres of Wroxeter to the 34 acres of Caistor. There was self-government of some kind in such towns, for we know from a valuable inscription that at Caerwent the community of the tribe of the Silures had a town council which issued decrees; *ex decreto ordinis respublica civitatis Silurum. Regnum* (Chichester), *Corinium* (Cirencester), *Ratæ* (Leicester), and others have not got the tribal genitive, yet may be assumed to have been similar centres; Chichester, for instance, as the centre of the *Regni*. The Roman Empire, conquest once effected, tended to promote *humanitas*, and the outward signs of such civilisation were town life and the use of the Latin tongue and the Latin dress. Agricola in particular fostered and set his seal to this policy of Romanising the Britons, and all the facts point to a very early acceptance of his ideas by the conquered tribes of at least the south of Britain.

The chief port of Roman Britain was *Rutupis* or *Rutupiæ*, (Richborough) at the southern end and on the west bank of the channel which then cut off the Isle of Thanet. It was important during the whole period of the Roman occupation. Now not only is Thanet connected with the mainland, the Stour flowing through rich lowlands where then was the channel, but also the cliff of Richborough is two miles away from the sea. The well-known mystery of the place is a mass of solid masonry which goes down into the ground, and the bottom of which has not yet been reached by excavators; the explanation may be that water, which has baffled the excavators, made the soil treacherous and therefore forced the Romans to lay their foundations very deep. The mass probably served as a substantial platform for a wooden lighthouse, which lit up the channel for ships passing through to the Thames estuary. Blocks of marble and other remains show that fine buildings once stood at Richborough, and thousands of coins of all reigns prove its constant occupa-

tion. Outside was an amphitheatre. Oyster-beds made the name of Rutupiæ known to the Romans, and thus the place is mentioned in Roman literature. At the other end of the channel was *Regulbium* (Reculver), and to the south *Dubris* (Dover) and *Portus Lemanis* (Lympne). Of Reculver little remains, for the sea has undermined the cliff; it would seem to be of later date than the other ports, for it has no place in the Itinerary, yet a Roman road can be traced connecting it with Canterbury. Roman Dover was on the low ground by the harbour and has been built over, but a Roman light-house still stands on the heights inside the medieval castle. Lympne is now inland. Much has been written as to who constructed the Rhee Wall, which has converted a bay into Romney Marsh, and the arguments of geologists are hard to follow. We have the clear facts that Portus Lemanis was the terminus of a road from Canterbury, which is given in the Itinerary and can be traced to near Lympne; that the ruins of Roman fortifications stand where a port would be if the bay were still a bay, and these fortifications were garrisoned as late as A.D. 400; and that Lympne is derived from Lemanis. Thus the Rhee Wall cannot have been made by Roman engineers.[1] The four roads from the four ports inwards met at Canterbury and formed a delta.

Near Southampton was a small port called *Clausentum* (Bitterne); the area is quite small, merely ten acres within a wall, and there is another ten acres beyond within earth-works which may be pre-Roman. Plentiful Roman remains, including many coins from the reign of Claudius himself down to the time when the Romans abandoned Britain, make us think that it was always occupied by the Romans; but it certainly was only a harbour of minor importance. The Itinerary shows that it was connected with London by way of Winchester.

The Roman emperors always maintained a fleet in the Channel, of which the headquarters were at Boulogne. Tiles have there been found bearing in various combinations the letters "CL . BR," *Classis Britannica*, an explanation first put forward by the late M. Vaillant, a savant of that town.

[1] Rice Holmes argues for West Hythe being Lemanis, but it has no Roman remains. He gives the geological evidence at great length, p. 522 seq.

Similar traces of the presence of men from the fleet who were employed on shore in tile-making have been found at Etaples, and on our side of the sea at Dover and Lympne; and at a later date at Pevensey.

The medicinal waters at Bath were discovered by the Romans at a very early period in their occupation, and they built the celebrated town of *Aquæ Sulis*. A smaller bathing establishment was *Aquæ*, which is Buxton.

To know something about a Romano-British town we naturally turn to Silchester, of which the ground plan has been laid bare by excavators. Here the Atrebates had had a tribal stronghold within a single rampart of earth, some 200 acres in extent, on the brow of a plateau with a wide view to south and east. The Romans laid down their main south-western road from Colchester and London across the Thames at Staines to this stronghold, and here it split into branches, so that at a very early period in the Roman occupation the position must have been one of importance. The Romanised town was planned all in one piece in the south-eastern half of the pre-Roman area, and we may infer the personal influence of Agricola himself, for the institution of town life was in the spirit of his policy. A series of square blocks of buildings, known as *insulæ*, were arranged in chess-board fashion and separated by streets at right angles to each other. The main road from the Thames ran across from east to west, and cut a north-to-south road at right angles in the north-west centre. Within the angle of this cross and almost exactly in the centre of the inhabited area were the *basilica* and *forum* side by side, forming together a nearly square block 310 feet by 275. The *basilica* or law court was a long narrow hall, divided into nave and aisles by columns which, judged by the diameter of fragments, must have been some 27 feet high; a row of windows above, such as we call a clerestory in a Gothic church, would give a total height of 60 feet. The *forum*, adjoining it to the east, was about 150 feet square, and was surrounded on its other three sides by colonnades and wide ambulatories, behind which were shops and public offices. These buildings are thought to have been built in the second century after the insulæ had been laid out. There was a certain amount of reconstruction in Roman Silchester, yet not enough to suggest systematic

rebuilding. There were also temples, and a large public building or *hospitium* to which baths were attached. Outside the rampart was an amphitheatre containing an area of 150 by 115 feet, and measuring " over all " 260 by 225 feet. Next, about A.D. 200, an all-stone wall was built round the town, running along the pre-Roman earthwork to the south and east, but falling far short of it on the other sides. It was 9½ feet thick at the base and 7½ at the top, except where at intervals a thickness of 9½ was run up to the top so as to give the effect of a series of buttresses ; it was bonded with flat slabs of stone and backed by earth. The town thus walled was seven-sided. The enclosed area was about 100 acres, but the houses did not reach up to the inner face of the wall. Here lived, then, some of the Atrebates, Romanised and civilised to town life, speaking Latin and writing Latin. " The private houses attest comfort and elegance, but not wealth or splendour. . . . Large areas within the walls were left vacant as yards or gardens. . . . The absence of an aqueduct and the fewness of the houses is significant of the size of the population. Even if one allows for mud huts and other cottages which may have vanished, it is difficult to reckon the inhabitants as many."[1]

Roman wall-construction, of course, varies in different parts of Britain according to the material that was available. Stone was more common in the north, flint or soft " cement " stone on the east coast. But the general plan is more or less constant. We find a core of rough stones or flints and rubble over which liquid mortar was run, between an outer and an inner face of carefully dressed stone laid in firm mortar ; such dressed and squared stones laid evenly are called ashlar. When good material was not forthcoming the Roman architects used assorted flints, so as to make the courses of the masonry regular. Their mortar is famous, being composed of lime, sand, gravel, little pebbles, or it may be bits of broken shell, sifted and therefore quite small, and when set it was extremely hard. Yet in North Britain dry unmortared walls are to be found, or else the mortar may be comparatively poor. Sometimes pounded tile was mixed in, and thus a pink tinge was given to the mortar, which made

[1] *Hampshire* V.C.H. Articles by Professor Haverfield and Mr. G. E. Fox.

a Norman writer of the twelfth century imagine that the blood of animals had been used. A special feature of Roman masonry is the bonding course, a layer of shallow and different material; if it penetrates through both the dressed face and the rubble core a bonding course adds very much to the strength of the wall,[1] but if it is only on the face it is merely ornamental and makes a pretty pattern. At Silchester the bonding was done with shallow slabs of stone brought from a considerable distance, though there was plenty of good brick-earth close at hand. But the usual material is tile. Roman tiles are as famous as the mortar, wide and shallow, on an average 17 by 12 by 1½ inches, though a depth of 2½ inches is sometimes found, squeezed tight and firm and well baked, so that they are quite unlike our bricks. Tiles were used in Italy at least as early as the first century A.D., if not B.C. On the other hand, in some fourth-century work at Augusta Trevirorum (Trier or Treves) in Gaul, there are none. Thus the date of a wall cannot be fixed by the fact that tiles were used, nor by the thickness of the tiles, nor by the thickness of the mortar joints. The Romans used larger or smaller quantities of tiles, or else used none at all, just according to the amount of brick-earth that was available; and indeed, at Colchester for instance, tiles were used more freely in one wall than another of the same town, and in the same piece of wall some may be 1½ inches and some 2½ inches thick. All-stone walls are to be found not only at Silchester, but also at Rochester,[2] and Reculver, and in the north generally beyond York. At York the single band of tiles, five deep, is merely on the face. At Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth, six bands of tiles, three deep, are alternated with rows of large assorted flints four or five deep, and here, too, the tiles are only on the face. At Pevensey, where the work is of a very late

[1] I have heard this statement doubted, but can only say that several architects to whom I have put the question are emphatic in favour of bonding as a means to tie the wall very effectively, provided that the bonding course runs through the entire thickness. One architect in particular, who has had much experience of Roman masonry at Constantinople, confirms this verdict strongly. The Turkish mason to-day, he adds, mixes pounded tile into his mortar just as the Romans sometimes used to do.

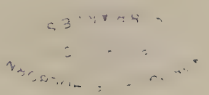
[2] Only two bits of the Roman wall at Rochester remain, and merely half a dozen tiles were found there by Mr. George Payne in the midst of some debris.

date, not much earlier, perhaps, than A.D. 400, the wall starts from a foundation on the stiff and solid natural clay; first there is a footing of large stones and chalk rubble, and above, receding somewhat, the rubble core has a face of dressed blocks of greensand-stone diversified by merely two bonding courses, which on the south side are composed of two rows of tiles, and on the north side of tiles or of longer slabs of the same greensand inserted in quite an irregular manner; some of the greensand has worn very badly and has crumbled, but some has lasted well and is fresh; it was quarried from below the chalk at Beachy Head, and just a little ironstone from the interior of the Andredesweald was used as well. At Colchester it would be impossible to say what was the general appearance of the original Roman Wall, for there has been a great deal of fighting there at one time or another, particularly when Fairfax besieged the town in 1648. The finest remaining stretch on the west side is composed thus; a footing of stone and other work now covered up with debris, above it a band of tiles four deep, then a band of assorted "cement" stones 4 feet 9 inches deep, then alternately bands of four tiles, averaging 9 or 10 inches, and bands of cement stones averaging 21 inches; the bonding courses run through both the face and the rubble core; but portions of the south wall, which are visible amongst the modern houses, have no tiles at all. Many portions of London Wall have recently been laid bare and photographed before their final destruction. Investigations by skilled antiquarians have proved that it was all of one date and of one plan; the reference is to the wall of the second and enlarged Roman London, which was more than three miles long. It stood within a very wide moat at a few feet from the inner edge; it rose from a foundation upon a puddled, i.e. a tightly beaten-down, trench; first came a base of boulders and concrete, and a single outer row of large squared stones forming the foot of the rampart, the whole 10 feet wide; next, receding to a width of 8 feet, was the rubble core with an outer and an inner face of five or six rows of small cubed stones, then three rows of tiles, five or six more of cubed stones, two or three of tiles, five of stones, two of tiles, five of stones, two of tiles, five of stones, to a total height of 24 feet; as the wall ascends it lessens in width to

Colchester Wall

Burgh Castle

Portchester; Roman walls and bastions, Norman Church and Keep showing beyond *Face page* 64



5 feet at the top, the outer face perpendicular, and the inner face tapering upwards.[1]

Roman towns are found of every or any shape. Silchester had seven sides. York and Leicester were nearly four-square, Colchester a long and narrow oblong, Rochester irregular, London almost a semicircle. Dorchester preserves to-day its Roman shape, three sides rectangular, the fourth irregular because of a bend of the River Frome; its streets coming in from the country form a T.

The difficulty as to dates meets us everywhere. Colchester and London and Verulam were not fortified in A.D. 61, and unable to resist Boadicea. Perhaps some sort of defence was thrown up at each when she was defeated, for there are signs of a small citadel of two acres at Colchester and of a first fortification of London. But the great wall of the second or enlarged Roman London, of which the masonry has just been described, over three miles long—the river front not included—is claimed for about A.D. 200; to the same period belong the all-stone wall of Silchester and the remaining portions of the Roman wall at Chester. Tombstones were built into the work at Chester, of which the latest cannot be much later than A.D. 170, and many are earlier and but little weathered. Thus there is a good deal of Roman masonry put down to this period; Marcus Aurelius's reign, 161–180, saw a good deal of trouble given by the Brigantes; Septimius Severus had to suppress a revolt of a rival for the empire, by name Clodius Albinus, and Britain must have been much upset, 193–211. Over the sea in Gaul most of the walling is put down to the period 250–350, and Rome herself was girded by a mighty rampart by the Emperor Aurelian about 275. For all that we know the walls of Wroxeter, Colchester, Caistor, Verulam, may be fourth century; and a late date is claimed for the extant portion at Leicester. We have two reasons for the fortification of civilian towns, fear of barbarians, and the fatal recurrence of civil war from the days of Septimius Severus down to the collapse of the Western Empire in the fifth century. The use of tombstones and fragments of columns and capitals in the masonry speaks to us

[1] Articles by Messrs. G. E. Fox, Philip Norman, and F. W. Reader in *Archæologia*, vols. lii, lix, lx; also Mr. Reader's article in the *London* V.C.H.

of need for rapid work, if not of panic; what was done at Chester is paralleled at Clausentum, and in the river-side wall of London, which was later than the landward wall, also in a score of Gallic towns from Beauvais to Bordeaux.[1]

Late in the period of Roman occupation bastions were built up against the walls of some towns. They served not so much as props or buttresses, but as platforms from which a flanking fire could be directed from catapults against an enemy attacking the outer face. Bastions at Colchester, Pevensey, and Burgh Castle are solid; at Porchester they are hollow. They may be built at even intervals or irregularly, according to military needs. They run out straight from the face of the wall and then are rounded. If of the same date as the wall they are built into it, as at Pevensey, but usually they are later additions and built up against it; a bastion at Burgh Castle, which has partly fallen outwards, has made a great gap behind which the dressed face of the older wall is clearly seen. At London the bastions seem to be of much later date than the wall itself, and seem to point to a period when extra fortifications were deemed to be necessary. Neither the walls nor the bastions of Roman work are loopholed, and the catapults were worked from the top. The face of one bastion at Porchester is of peculiar, almost freakish, construction; small dressed stones, assorted flints, shallow slabs, tiles, were built up in rows without any method; at Pevensey a bastion has a pleasing effect where the Normans patched it up afterwards with stones laid in herring-bone fashion. These heavy masses of masonry were liable to fall outwards because of their weight, especially as the Romans were accustomed to raise the inner area by dumping quantities of clay, thereby causing a strong outward thrust.

Entrances usually turn inwards between a pair of bastions, but there are very few gateways of Roman work extant in Britain. The western entrance at Leicester is extant, and is judged to be of the fourth century, not so much because of the thickness of the tiles or of the mortar joints, as because of the narrowness of the gates—only 7 feet 6 inches—and their distance apart; the later in date a fortified enclosure may be, "the narrower are the entrances." Against the

[1] M. Blanchet, *Les enceintes Romaines de la Gaule*, passim.

inside of the wall of Leicester was built an arcade of four arches five feet deep, of unequal width and with unequal distances between, and in the wall at the back of the two middle arches are these two narrow gateways. The arcade is nineteen feet high, and the town wall itself rises another six feet higher. It is known as the Jewry Wall, and is hidden away in a back street.[1] The main arch of a gateway and one side arch remain at Lincoln, and each is wide; the present road is there much above the Roman level.

Houses in Roman Britain, both the larger town-houses, as at Silchester, and the many *villæ* or country mansions, are not on an Italian model. In Italy we find a quadrangular building, which shows blank walls to the outside and obtains light and air from a small open court in the centre. But in Britain the prevailing type is a straight building with a corridor on one side; and even if three or four of these are arranged round a central enclosure there is still no likeness to an Italian house, for the court is large and the corridor-houses straggle along its sides. Baths and hypocausts indicate respectable comfort, it would be unfair to say luxury; the hypocaust, underground heating apparatus, was common in Italy and indispensable in the surly climate of Britain. Moreover, the comfort was not for the Roman rulers alone. Apparently the Italians in Britain were by no means numerous, just a sprinkling of officials and merchants such as represent us at the present in India. The Roman villas, with numerous farm-buildings attached and often standing solitary in the open country, were doubtless often the residences of Romanised Britons. They would seem to have been built at an early period in the south-east region, and are later in date the further one goes away towards the west and north. Houses were, naturally enough, wrecked by the Angles and Saxons for the sake of the material, and in certain districts a great many tiles were used in the erection of both castles and churches. Not only the Norman castle of Colchester, but also a priory and parts of other churches are made of Roman tiles; the abbey of St. Albans was built by a Norman abbot of tiles collected gradually out of the ruins of Verulam by his predecessor. The famous church of Brixworth in Northants, built originally in the days of the supremacy of Mercia, and

[1] G. E. Fox, *Leicestershire* V.C.H.

rebuilt by West Saxon kings after it had been wrecked by the Danes, was raised out of the spoil of a Roman villa; it would be perverse to imagine that, in the heart of the country some miles away from Watling Street, there ever existed at Brixworth a large Christian Roman church.

The poorer population lived under conditions which seem sordid to us. Yet, just as modern and industrial England has no right to sneer at Romano-British art because of its stiffness, so, in view of our slums and hovels, we have no right to blame the Roman masters of Britain for the conditions of village life. Such Britons as still lived, like their pre-Roman ancestors, in pit-dwellings, may have been comfortable according to their ideas. General Pitt Rivers excavated some Romano-British villages on the borders of Dorset and Wiltshire; he found that the skeletons resembled those of the Stone Age, short men of 5 feet 2 inches, on an average, but with skulls not quite so narrow as those of the "long barrows," an interesting discovery as showing that the "Neolithic race" had neither been exterminated nor all driven westwards. In the wilder parts, in South Devon and in Derbyshire, some of the caves and lairs which centuries earlier had sheltered Stone Age men were still occupied under Roman rule. Mr. J. R. Green, who has been followed by other writers, used to think such cave-dwellers to be Britons, who fled to earth in days of Anglo-Saxon invasion and cruelty after the Roman protection had been withdrawn. But Professor Haverfield argues from finds of coins that the date must be in the second and third centuries,[1] the very period when Roman government seemed to be settled and to promise security to the less fortunate natives. His argument is too strong to be disregarded; we must suppose a remnant of poor hill-folk, outlaws it may be, herding in dens such as Thirst House and Kent's Cavern. We must remember also that cave-dwellers lived in a similar way even as late as the eighteenth century of our civilised era.

A question yet to be considered is that of amphitheatres. Some minds wish to see evidence of brutal cruelty and love of degrading sport in any hollow circle or oval depression; any curving terraced slope suggests spectators crowded to view the gladiators or Christians cast to lions, even though

[1] *Derbyshire* V.C.H.

nowhere near to a crowded Romanised settlement. Other writers by natural reaction cast doubt upon palpably genuine amphitheatres. The best question to ask ourselves is whether one of these rings of earthworks is near to an important centre of population, and there can be no doubt about the amphitheatres outside Richborough, Cirencester, Silchester, Caerleon, and Dorchester; excavation has proved the genuineness of Maumbury Ring near Dorchester, and it was thrown up where the Stone Age men had quarried for flints. But there are no great stone amphitheatres as in Italy and Gaul. At Richborough the ring is shallow and coated over with mortar; Maumbury Ring is lofty and entirely of earth, and the seats were doubtless of wood. The dimensions of the Coliseum at Rome are roughly 600 feet by 500 "over all," and 80,000 people or more could be seated; the arena was originally 250 feet by 150. The dimensions of the largest amphitheatre in Gaul, that of Poitiers, are 500 feet by 450. At Silchester we find 260 feet by 225 "over all," and an arena of 150 by 115, which would correspond to the dimensions of an average amphitheatre in Gaul.[1] A shallow depression on top of the Mendips may be a place where the lead-miners saw sports of some kind, but what has been thought to be an amphitheatre near Housesteads on the Great Wall was really a quarry. On the one hand we can hardly imagine that Romano-British towns had no facilities for spectacles while every Gallic town of any size had, on the other a certain amount of scepticism is wise. Provincial shows of course were not on so elaborate a scale as those of the Coliseum.

It is possible to discuss Roman Britain on geographical lines and at the same time to observe sequence of dates. After general treatment of our subject we can thus sort out the special instances, showing where the locality in which a student is interested was the scene of a Roman advance, or when a wall or a road may have been constructed. Much is yet in doubt and some conclusions may seem to be fanciful. One expert may not accept what another takes as proved.

[1] Figures of amphitheatres, as of camps, vary in different books. Some writers neglect to say whether they are giving exterior or interior dimensions. For the Coliseum see Burn, *Old Rome*, pp. 62 seq. A young student should be warned that "thumbs down" were for mercy, "thumbs up" for despatch; popular errors are hard to kill.

Yet one can but try to draw such conclusions as general evidence may seem to justify.

The street system depends on the needs of the Romans after the first conquest. Both Cæsar and Plautius had pushed on to the Thames. The objective of Plautius had been Colchester, and here he could receive his reinforcements and supplies up the creek of the River Colne. But the angle of Kent offered obvious facilities for landing at Lympne, Dover, Richborough. Therefore to penetrate into the midlands, the west, and the south-west the Romans had to lay down streets from two termini, from Colchester and from Canterbury, the apex of the delta of roads converging from the Kentish ports; and between these termini was the wide mouth of a deep tidal river. The streets were aimed at the most convenient place of passage. Wallingford, which played its part so often in Saxon and Norman history, was too far up. Brentford, where we can take it that Cæsar crossed, seems not to have commended itself. One point chosen was where an island rose slightly above swamps upon the northern bank, which the Saxons in their day named Thorney, and where is now Westminster Abbey; the other was at Staines.

The Old Dover Road, which we consider as part of Watling Street—it is immaterial whether the Saxons really gave that name to it, or whether it came to be so named from the London-Chester section—is our Via Appia, our Road Number One. It is as full of associations, literary and historical, as the great highway from Rome to Brindisi, or the Paris-Calais route. We people it with the men of history and of fiction, Charles II returning from exile, Mr. Lorry and David Copperfield travelling from London to the coast by vastly different methods. From Canterbury the Roman engineers, having no use for the ridge of downs which lead westwards or for the Pilgrims' Way, struck to the north of west, crossed Dunkirk Hill at 390 feet above sea-level, and descended to the low flat country between the downs and the estuary of the Thames. The bridge over the tidal Medway, or the passage by ferry which preceded it, must have always made Rochester important Roman Watling Street has been found under its High Street, the line of its four unequal sides has been traced, a bit of its Roman all-stone wall stands up high above the moat on the eastern side where the Norman wall was afterwards built on

to it so as to take in a larger area, another bit can be seen in the outer enclosure of the Norman castle, and the piles of the Roman bridge have been found. Yet the memory of Dickens is ever strongest at Rochester; Sapsea's house, Rosa's school, Jasper's gateway, still stand on the High Street, and up a side road is Miss Havisham's house; the "Bull" is still there, and has its staircase and Pickwick room, but has very little honour in these unromantic days; half a dozen miles off to the north is Cooling, where Pip lived, nowadays kept trim and vastly unlike the ragged hamlet on the edge of the marshes with which Pip's experiences have made us familiar, and to the west is Cobham and the "Leather Bottle." Watling Street climbs west after crossing the Medway and runs on the top of a ridge, while the two lines of the S.E. and C.R. take the lower ground to north and south; the coaching road which Dickens loved no longer follows it, but swerves aside to pass by Gravesend and other riverside towns. In fact the Roman track is lost for some miles. But, the coaching road rejoining it towards London, it climbs Shooter's Hill above Woolwich. Visions arise of highwaymen and of Jerry Cruncher pursuing the coach that carried Mr. Lorry, but the place is prosy now; where once stood a delightfully pretty inn is now a flaring gin-palace. From the top on a clear day there is a fine view of St. Paul's and the Abbey straight ahead and framed in the trees of the foreground. The Roman line did not run over Blackheath, but through ground now covered by villas and shops to Greenwich Park. It finally struck the Thames, yet it is difficult to decide exactly where; it may be that "Stanegate" in Lambeth marks where the stone track ran to the river opposite to Scotland Yard, or else the passage was a bit higher up stream opposite to the Horseferry and south of the Abbey; both sites find supporters. Also authorities fall foul of each other as to whether the passage was by ferry or by ford. One cannot but think that the Romans would have tried to find a fordable place for so important a main street, even though nowadays one can hardly imagine the water low enough, even at low tide, between the two embanked shores.[1]

[1] Certainly much is still a matter of controversy. The Roman line seems to leave the "Shooter's Hill Road," and to run by the "Old Dover Road" dead straight to Greenwich Park, where some pavement

The " Marble Arch " marks where the other street, coming from Colchester, crossed Watling Street. Near here flowed the Tyburn. Few indeed of those who have ever waited for a bus at the Marble Arch, or of those who came to see criminals hung at Tyburn at the cross-roads, have thought of this intersection of streets as a memorial of the first steps of Roman civilisation in Britain. Watling Street ran on west of north, and its first section here we know as the Edgeware Road, lying nearly dead straight between Brockley Hill and Sydenham Hill; but the latter, away to the south and across the Thames, was merely taken by the surveyors as a point. Then it climbed the Chilterns close along the line of our Midland Railway, but avoiding the steep hill where St. Albans Abbey stands, it took the lower ground by the little River Ver. Here beneath the abbey hill are the bits of wall and of earthworks which mark the site of pre-Roman and Roman Verulamium, a *municipium* under Roman rule, but not a *colonia*.[1] The earliest municipalised Britons of Verulam were destined soon to feel the wrath of Boadicea, being in her eyes renegades in that they received favours from the conquerors. Thence the street traversed the chalk uplands, yet not the highest part of the ridge, crossed the Icknield Way where now is Dunstable, and rose and fell in turn till it reached at Fenny Stratford ground now traversed by the L. & N.W.R. and the Grand Junction Canal. At this point it penetrated into the midlands, country which shows but few signs of pre-Roman occupation, and was a pioneer route. It zigzags in a series of short and straight lengths across the central watershed, near the headwaters of streams which run out to the Thames and Severn on the left, and to the Nen and Trent on the right, in some places the modern boundary between parish and parish or between county and

and coins have been found. It would thus pass an inn, the " Royal Standard," which is a memorial of Charles II and some halt that he made here in 1660, such as Scott describes at the end of *Woodstock*; that is to say, in 1660 the main road was still the old Roman road, and the road across the present open part of Blackheath is a divergence. Villas and shops have sprung up where once was heath; for in the days of the Napoleonic crisis the government allowed any one to enclose waste land and to make it private property. A certain Mr. Angerstein enclosed this piece of Blackheath and grew crops, and then it was converted into building-land.

[1] See above, p. 58.

county. So it struck the Severn at Wroxeter, and then branches ran on southwards to Caerleon-on-Usk, northwards to Chester. The 14th Legion has left traces at Wroxeter, and Caratacus was beaten in the country beyond; that legion was recalled from Britain about the year 70, and Wroxeter ceased to be a legionary fortress, and thus it is recognised that Watling Street was laid down at a very early date before it departed.

Meanwhile the great east-to-west road started from Colchester, passing south of the great forest of which Epping Forest is the diminished representative. It crossed the Lea at the "Old Ford," where we are told that pavement has been found, and took the line where now are "Roman Road" and "Old Street," running clear of London and aiming at the "Marble Arch." [1] Then it just avoided Brentford and crossed the Thames at Staines, the Roman *Pontes*, the river-passage *par excellence*.

Both streets, that from Colchester and that from Canterbury, ran wide of pre-Roman London. Yet it was in such a position that it could not fail to become great. Served by a tidal river from a wide estuary which was the natural track for continental commerce into the heart of Britain, situated on a healthy plateau of gravel on a convenient bank above high-water mark, yet where at low water passage was easy and a bridge could be built, near these two streets, though situated on neither, London was already important in A.D. 61 as the rendezvous of merchants. It was merely necessary to throw out two short branches to north and south so as to give connection with the great highways. The earliest branch from Watling Street probably struck the Thames at "Stoney Lane" in Southwark, a name which is suggestive of a paved approach like Stanegate in Lambeth.

[1] We seem to be justified in inferring that the Colchester road is as old as Watling Street, not only because the Romans would wish to connect their first colony at once with other centres, but also because the story of Boadicea's rising assumes direct communication between it and London. When Professor Lethaby (*London before the Conquest*, p. 59) says that the east-to-west road must have traversed London from Aldgate to Newgate, he does not allow for the growth of Roman London; the line by "Old Ford" and "Old Street" cannot but be the older route, and the road from Stratford to Aldgate was the diverted line of entry into the enlarged Roman London of A.D. 200.

The east-to-west street from Colchester by way of Staines ran on south of the Thames over the gravel of Bagshot Heath to Silchester. Here, we may repeat, was the wide tribal centre of the Atrebates within a single rampart of earth, and here various roads branched off, so that soon, when Agricola was *legatus*, a Romanised town was laid out and later on was enclosed within a seven-sided stone wall. In this country south of the Thames we see that the streets were laid out by the Romans so as to connect pre-Roman centres, which they occupied and Romanised. Indeed one would say that the Britons had had a good eye for situation when they occupied such positions as Silchester, Winchester, Old Sarum, Maiden Castle, Exeter, Cirencester, for the Romans merely linked them up by their new roads.

A road led from the north gate of Silchester towards the Thames. It cannot be traced, and is not mentioned in the Itinerary. But unless there were such a road the north gate would be useless.

From the south gate ran the main track to *Venta Belgarum*. Many coins have been found here of Claudius and Nero; some Roman stones were built into the later Norman wall; some Roman pavement has been dug up. But all that we can see to-day is medieval and modern Winchester. Situated on low ground at the meeting-place of several valleys, and not far from two great inlets from the sea, it could not but be important. One branch of the road ran on to *Clausentum* (Bitterne), and then turned east so as to pass near the head of Portsmouth Harbour and on to Chichester; the Itinerary gives these places, but the track cannot be entirely recovered, and the distances recorded do not agree with the actual mileage. At Bitterne there are traces of Roman life, milestones, altars, coins of the whole period from Claudius to Honorius; an area of ten acres was enclosed between a sea-wall and a cross-wall of stone, described a century ago as roughly faced with stones and bonded with tiles, which was probably erected in the fourth century. The situation is at the tip of a piece of land round which the Itchen bends not far from the point where it discharges into Southampton Water. It will be noticed that Porchester has not been mentioned; it was obviously fortified only in the fourth century. The geographer Ptolemy names *Portus Magnus*

in his treatise of the second century, but one cannot tell whether he means Southampton Water or Portsmouth Harbour. The Romans had but little use for either, as can be seen from the smallness of their town at Bitterne and the lateness of the date when they fortified Porchester. The main traffic from Gaul to Britain passed by way of Kent or London; it certainly seems as if the streets were originally plotted from the south-eastern ports and from Colchester inwards, and so made London important, while the south-western streets were laid outwards from London to old British inland centres, not specially to ports. Chichester as the tribal centre of the Regni was at first under the rule of a native chief allied to Rome; coins and other remains range from A.D. 50 to A.D. 270. Direct communication between London and Chichester by the Sussex Stane Street was of much later date.

We go back to Winchester and take the main road on to *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum), Badbury Rings, Dorchester which is near to Maiden Castle, and ultimately *Isca Dumnuniorum* (Exeter), all of these old British centres. We have already mentioned the stretch of road between Sarum and Badbury, which is now called the Ackling Dyke, partly in Wiltshire and partly in Dorset. It is almost untouched, and runs in bold relief over country now desolate and thinly populated, but in old days teeming with a population of British tribes. The prominent camp of Badbury seems to have been rather a point used by the Roman surveyors than as a settlement, but there was a small intermediate station here. Maiden Castle being waterless was found to be unsuitable, and so it was necessary for the Romans to raise a new town at Dorchester on the Frome, two and a half miles away. Remains indicate that Maiden Castle was indeed occupied under Roman rule, but doubtless only for a short time, for the road from Badbury points straight at the new Roman town, and not at the old British camp. Badbury Rings, it will be remembered, are not waterless; therefore the road was not diverted therefrom. At Exeter it is impossible to trace the Roman fortifications, and the best local expert authority cannot decide whether all the dark red stone that can still be seen is all Norman or partly perhaps Roman.

The road as described in the Itinerary stops short at Exeter.

Beyond, some inscribed stones have been found, and an ingot of tin which is thought to have been of the fourth century. The mines which made Cornwall known to the Phœnicians were not worked by the Romans, at any rate not for a long time, and we must suppose that for some reason the tin industry of Spain ruined that of Cornwall; for we can hardly suppose that the Romans allowed the natives to mine on their own account without imperial supervision.

A later road from Silchester ran from the south-west gate direct to Sarum. But the Itinerary only shows communication between Silchester and Sarum by way of Winchester.

From the central western gate of Silchester ran the road to the River Kennet, and through Savernake Forest to *Aquæ Sulis* (Bath), the natural hot springs sacred to the British goddess Sul whom the Romans identified with Minerva. "Bath has not grown up beside a road; the roads have come to it." A cross-road comes up to it from Exeter, and the long Fosse Way from Lincoln through Leicester and Cirencester would certainly seem to have been designed to give access to Bath. Hither came soldiers and civilians from the whole of Britain for the sake of the waters, and here they dedicated altars to various deities. The area of the town was nearly square, some 400 yards each way. The bathing establishment, constructed below the surface of the ground so as to assist the flow of hot water, included ten baths, big and little, public and private, the biggest 80 feet by 40. A great temple rose in honour of Sul Minerva. One of the most important works of Romano-British art is the central group of the pediment of this temple, a vigorously carved Gorgon's head on an oak-wreathed shield, supported by two figures of Victory and Minerva's sacred owl.[1] The Romans were also attracted to the Mendips by the valuable lead mines, which we have already said were being worked for the Emperor's use as early as A.D. 49.

The last of these western streets branched off from the Silchester-Bath road, and went to Cirencester and Gloucester. On the Severn at the first place up stream where a bridge could be built, where the estuary has begun to give place to a comparatively narrow river, yet a certain amount of

[1] Haverfield, *Somerset* V.C.H.

shipping can be accommodated, and where the bore or tidal wave from the Atlantic has died away,[1] Gloucester has always been important. From Roman days, through the Middle Ages when Prince Edward and Simon de Montfort manœuvred around, down to the Civil War when Lord Essex marched to its relief and saved the Parliamentarian cause in the West, it has given access to South Wales, and therefore has been a strategic centre. Only in our own days has the Severn tunnel enabled Londoners to reach Glamorgan and Pembroke without going up to Gloucester. Whether the Romans originally established here a legionary base may be doubted, but their colony of *Glevum* was their gate by which the permanent fortress of the 2nd Augustan Legion at Caerleon was reached.

The first conquest of South Britain by Vespasian was so thorough that we never find troops stationed along the streets that have been now described. It would have taken some little time to lay out all these streets, yet one would think that the work was being taken in hand at a quite early period as soon as Vespasian had completed his work.

Erming Street, the great north road, was planned to connect Colchester with Lincoln. The first section is lost, but the general idea of the Roman surveyors is clear; they aimed at the gap between the Fens and the Forest where the great pre-Roman dykes barred the Icknield Way. One would think, however, that they were not able entirely to circumvent the Forest, but had to drive their track through and cut down trees, for the line of the road is a good deal to the south of the Newmarket dyke. The section into Cambridge is clearly traced,[2] mounting the shoulder of the Gog Magog hills and coming close to Wandelbury Camp. Here the aim of the surveyors was to skirt the southern and western edge of the Fens, striking westwards to Godmanchester (alongside Huntingdon), and then northwards to cross the Nen at Castor (near Peterborough). The track, in places grass-grown, points to-day straight across the wolds to Lincoln Cathedral. Thus it will be seen that there

[1] The bore is felt at Gloucester only at spring tides. The present bridge is unusually lofty, so as to allow small ships to pass.

[2] The name *Via Devana* is a modern invention.

was as yet no direct communication between London and Lincoln, the Forest being dense north of London.

The 2nd, 14th, and 20th Legions were engaged under the legate Suetonius Paulinus in completing the conquest of Wales, and the 9th was at Lincoln without apparent cause for care, when in A.D. 61 the Iceni rose. The land had not been annexed, and their old king had been the client and ally of Rome. When he died we have the oft-told tale of Roman greed and cruelty, the outcome of a haughty sense of power and security. The colony of *Camulodunum* was not walled and was soon the prey of Boadicea and her infuriated tribesmen. Part of the 9th Legion hastened [1] from Lincoln, not waiting for the main body of Suetonius to arrive, and was cut to pieces. The legate himself came from Anglesey to London, decided to risk the loss of even so important a commercial centre in order to save all Britain,[2] and retreated with those who could follow him. The Iceni seized London and killed all whom they found; next they seized and killed at Verulam. Suetonius, being reinforced from the west, offered battle with the 14th, some part of the 20th, and auxiliaries, 10,000 men in all, in a place where his flanks were covered. The tribesmen were too impetuous and unable to confine themselves to the harassing guerilla tactics which suited them. The Roman's short sarcastic harangue is preserved by Tacitus. "Good swordsmen must prevail in pitched battle over disorderly hordes of yelling barbarians, mostly women." The site of the Roman victory cannot be fixed. Two thoughts arise from a study of Boadicea's rising; her followers must have been very many, yet the battle broke their powers of resistance at one blow; the neighbouring parts of Britain had most clearly identified themselves with the cause of their Roman masters and had been already enjoying the prosperity that commerce brought under the protection of Rome, for, even if we doubt that 70,000 Romans and Britons fell at the first rush at Colchester and London and Verulam, at least the Iceni must have killed large numbers of fellow-Britons whom they regarded as renegades to the national cause.

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 31–7. The words *quod peditum interfecit* seem to show that not the whole legion was up.

[2] *Unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit*, a fine epigrammatic rendering of a Napoleonic rule of war.

The rising crushed, the Romans doubtless at once occupied Norfolk and Suffolk. From Colchester a road was now laid to *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor-by-Norwich), where considerable remains are extant, 34 acres in area; it was doubtless first garrisoned till they were satisfied that the Iceni would not break out again, but it was not a permanent military station. Coins found on the site suggest its foundation now, though the walls seem to be much later. A second road, known as the Peddars' Way, runs along the watershed and aims at the Wash; it is generally considered to be Roman though not in the Itinerary. The last few miles of its course are lost, but probably it made a bend before reaching the coast and swerved from the straight line to Brancaster. Slightly raised mounds mark where Roman Brancaster once stood; it may have been constructed to keep down the Iceni, but 300 years later was their defence against Saxon pirates.[1] Various branches linked up the Peddars' Way with Cambridge and also with Castor-by-Peterborough; and thus communication was established with Lincoln in case troops were again wanted from the legionary fortress.

Colchester and London had not yet been fortified, and there is a possibility that some defences were now planned for each, the result of the feeling of insecurity caused by Boadicea's war. Colchester occupies the slope of a hill running up from the south bank of the Colne and part of the plateau on top. On the brow are the remains of a fort; a vast earthwork 110 yards long, 70 feet deep upon the outside, and 20 or 25 feet on the inside, forms the northern rampart, about 50 yards of the eastern rampart remain, and faint traces of the western; within the earth is embedded a Roman stone wall. Whether Saxons or Normans threw up the earth over the Roman work is immaterial, but it is clear that here we have what is unique in Roman Britain, namely a small Roman citadel of two acres planted well within the later Roman walls of the colony, and we seem to recognise the first defence built after Boadicea's downfall to serve as a rallying-place in case there should be a new outbreak. The later walls enclose an area of some 127 acres, a long and narrow oblong of 1040 yards by 600, and this little citadel stands in the east centre all by itself.

[1] Haverfield, *Norfolk* V.C.H.

Presumably the temple of Claudius stood on the site and was wrecked by Boadicea; later generations gave to the enclosure the name of King Coel's Palace, and here the Normans built their castle. Similarly all authorities agree that there was a first Roman walled London, bounded by the Wall-brook, Cornhill, and Mincing Lane, an area of some seventy acres. The evidence is considerable. This ground is free of burial remains, and there are many traces of burials outside it but within the area of enlarged second London. Sir Christopher Wren is quoted by our authorities as putting the line of this first wall along Cornhill, and he had a unique opportunity for judging.

We now come to Agricola and his period of command, A.D. 78 to 84. We have a clear picture of him and his policy, for Tacitus was both his son-in-law and his biographer. He it was who chiefly advanced the cause of *humanitas*, the civilisation of the Britons by attraction to life in towns. His military career in Britain begins in North Wales. Chester was his base, and Wroxeter had been already deserted as a military fortress and the 14th Legion recalled. He crossed to Anglesey at low tide over the stretch of sand to the east of the Menai Straits,[1] and occupied the last mysterious home of the Druids. An extension of Watling Street connected Chester, Wroxeter, Kenchester, and Caerleon, with a branch to Gloucester. West of this line Roman ideas penetrated very slowly. There was an advance from Chester to Caernarvon, and from Caerleon to Caermarthen, but the country had to be held down by many small forts. At Gelly Gaer a dozen miles north of Cardiff is a typical fort, 130 yards by 120, laid out in orthodox rectangular style with prætorium, officers' quarters, storehouses and barracks.[2] From coins and pottery found there it seems to have been occupied from a little before Agricola's time, about A.D. 70 to about A.D. 125; it was then abandoned and never restored, so that when excavated the foundations were found all on one plan and unaltered. The Britons of Wales were pacified so far that the regular troops could be sent from Chester and Caerleon to wherever they were required in North Britain. The

[1] See below, chapter v, The Campaign of 1282.

[2] Plan to be found in Professor Haverfield's article in the *Derbyshire* V.C.H.

abandonment of Gelly Gaer will at least show that the Romans needed not to maintain all their outlying posts in Wales during the whole period of their occupation. It should be remembered that behind Caerleon town-life and self-government existed at Caerwent, where the *respublica* of the Silures had an *ordo* or town council.

From Wales Agricola turned his attention to the Brigantes, fierce hill-men who held all the country from the Peak northwards. His predecessors had already fought against them, and he now systematically built forts and planted garrisons, and ravaged up to the Tanaus—whether the Tyne, or the Tweed, or even the Forth, cannot be determined. It is difficult to know which forts are really his. Antiquarians seek to discover by digging whether there are traces of some smaller and earlier fort within a bigger and later, and in such cases the earlier may be attributed to him. For instance two forts have been traced at Elslack in West Yorkshire. He may have planned originally the works at Brough, Melandra, Manchester, Hard Knot in Cumberland. Yet we have to be content with a general statement that before his time, and under him, and for a long time after him, the Brigantes were unruly and had to be continuously kept down. About A.D. 108 the 9th Spanish Legion disappeared, and one can only assume that some striking military disaster took place, some serious rising of the Brigantes, which annihilated it but of which there is no record.

The forts of Melandra and Brough are a dozen miles apart in N.W. Derbyshire. At Melandra, near Glossop on the extreme boundary of the modern county towards Manchester, is "the easiest entrance to the North Derbyshire hills. . . . The ancient soldier, wishing to plant a fort within striking distance of High Peak and yet within safe reach of western communications, would find his fittest site near Glossop." It is well protected on three sides by a fall of over 100 feet, and has an area of nearly three acres; its wall is of rubble and boulder clay with an exterior tracing of dressed stone two feet deep, and some of the work was done by the first cohort of Frisiavones who also contributed to build the fort at Manchester. The fort of Brough stands in "the one real gap in the continuous uplands on the other side of High Peak," low enough to be near the water of the Noe stream,

high enough to command an outlook over the valley, and "it mattered not that the hills tower high on either side and command a view right into the Roman lines." The area is 2½ acres, the wall is of stone six feet thick; it was occupied at least in and after the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 150, when the first cohort of Aquitanians set up a memorial stone in his honour. There was also a camp near Derby. Roads skirted the Peak district between Templeborough, Derby, and Manchester; a cross-road, known to-day as the "Bathamgate," "ran through the valley where is the fort of Brough, connecting it with the bathing establishment of *Aquæ* (Buxton); another cross-road connected Brough with Melandra, climbing very high ground up to 1600 feet above sea-level. There are no remains of villas in Derbyshire. Small finds of Roman things, especially of pigs of lead, have been made in the central hills away from the roads. Caves were occupied by Brigantians even when the Roman power was most securely fastened on the country.[1] Our impression is of a difficult and a poor country, yet important because of the lead mines, held down by forts at strategic points and pierced by roads so that the tribes could be watched.

The fort at Manchester occupies ground which has been long known as Castlefield. Though intersected by canals and railways in the heart of the city it has been explored as far as conditions will allow. It covered five acres and measured 170 yards by 140, and its wall was of stone.[2] The evidence of pottery and coins is not strong enough to prove whether it was founded by Agricola or later. It was at the junction of the Chester-York road with a northern road running up the flat ground of Lancashire to Ribchester and on to Westmorland, and with the above-mentioned road from Buxton and Derby. It would be natural for Agricola to connect Chester with York and to plant a fort on the road.

On the other side of the watershed conquest led to the extension of Erming Street from Lincoln. The main road was carried down from the Lincolnshire Wolds to the flat ground of the Trent, and curved inwards considerably to the west of the present North-Eastern Railway so as to avoid

[1] Haverfield, *Derbyshire* V.C.H.
[2] F. E. Bruton, *Roman Fort at Manchester.*

the swampy ground of the lower Ouse. At Tadcaster it met the road from Manchester and swerved eastwards to York. From Tadcaster and York two roads run one on either side of the Swale and meet near Catterick, thence a single line continues to Binchester, Ebchester, Corbridge on the Tyne, and on over the Cheviots to Melrose and the Forth. Looking on the map at the long triangle of roads between Tadcaster and York and Catterick one feels tempted to guess that the first extension of Erming Street northwards from Lincoln did not run to York, and that it was planned before the headquarters of the 9th Legion were shifted to York. An interesting cross-road ran from Catterick on the Swale through a gap in the main watershed between the Tees and a tributary of the Eden, following the line where now runs an important cross-country railway. Standing on the highest point of the track one can command a fine view, a gentle rise from the east out of Yorkshire, a picturesque and steep descent into Westmorland, the Roman road high up on the edge of the moor, the railway following the bottom of the valley. At the foot of the pass in Westmorland are Roman earthworks at Brough in a commanding position, and another station further on at Brougham on level ground by the Eamont river. Norman keeps were added to the Roman earthworks both at Brough and at Brougham which came by marriage into the family of the Cliffords, and all the fells and the plains alike are redolent of war, of the Romans holding down the Brigantes, and of the northern English defending the border against the Scots in the Middle Ages.

Agricola chiefly owes his fame to having carried the eagles into Caledonia. We seem to find traces of him here and there, at Melrose, at Camelon near Falkirk, and at Ardoch, and, as the road from Corbridge in Northumberland connects these places, we infer either that he surveyed the line for a road, or that he built forts at intervals which a successor linked together by a road. The fort at Newstead near Melrose, beneath the three Eildon Hills which the Romans called *Trimontium*, has been excavated and has yielded interesting results. There were four periods of construction. Agricola undoubtedly laid out the first fort of about ten acres with a single rampart of earth and stockade; next the station was enlarged and very greatly strengthened by a thicker rampart

of earth and a triple girdle of ditches; the third stage of construction limited the area to be defended by a cross-wall, thus denoting a reduced garrison; and there was yet a fourth alteration when there was another enlargement, perhaps only a short time before the final abandonment. Moreover additional earthworks outside the ditches show that there was an annexe, where troops on the march could be accommodated while the main fort was held by a permanent garrison. The extra number of ditches is eloquent proof of the respect in which the Romans held the Caledonian tribes; we shall find even a larger number at Ardoch and at Birrens. A considerable garrison of 2000 men or more must be allowed for this fort at Newstead, yet the enemy was formidable enough to compel the construction of such additional works. A find of special interest is that of some helmets, not the ordinary war helmets, but headpieces of thin copper with masks such as were used by Roman cavalry in their sports, the manœuvres or gymkhanas of the period.[1]

Higher up in Scotland we are brought "into certain contact with the handiwork of Agricola" at Bar Hill, about eleven miles south of west from Falkirk. Here within a larger camp on the line of Antonine's Wall was found a small fort 63 yards by 53, a small outlying post off the Agricolan road in a lofty position.[2] The road itself, coming up from Newstead and passing near Edinburgh, ran to Camelon alongside Falkirk, which also seems to be a fort of Agricola's construction.[3] Thence it travelled to the Forth which it crossed under the shadow of the rock of Stirling, and twisted over the moors towards the Tay. About ten miles from Stirling, if we take the straight line, are the earthworks of Ardoch. Here are three camps, a great but weakly defended one of 130 acres, another of 25 acres, and a small but very strongly ditched fort of 5 acres. These three overlap in a puzzling manner, but one can at least assume that the largest one shows where Agricola entrenched himself when on the march towards the Grampians with a large army of both legions and auxiliaries. The smallest may be a permanent fort originally

[1] Articles by Mr. James Curle in the *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, especially July, 1907.
[2] *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xl, p. 403.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xxxv.

projected by him; between an outer and an inner rampart of earth on the north and east sides of this small fort are a series of five trenches, the ground to the south has been ploughed up, and on the west the steep bank of a stream prevented the necessity of such fortification; the inner area measures 5 acres, and the whole area "over all" comes to about 18 acres. The trenches would be lined at the bottom with sharp stakes and spikes, such as the "lilies" which Cæsar used at Alesia, and the breadth of such defences would prevent the red-hot sling-stones of clay which the wild tribesmen used from reaching the buildings inside. There was a reason for this precaution, for the buildings of the station were of wood. And indeed the Caledonians did try to set fire to the fort, for sling-stones have been picked up inside; they are conical at each end, and the largest measure $1\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches and weigh $1\frac{1}{4}$ ounces. This is tolerably good proof that the defence of a camp so far north was a very serious matter; it was simply an isolated advanced post liable to attack from the fiercest enemies that the Romans met in Britain. Whether the Romans abandoned Ardoch of their own accord, or whether the Caledonians stormed it, at least the finding of the sling-stones inside proves that the latter made serious assaults upon it.[1]

Lastly, fifteen miles from Perth is Inchtuthil Camp, a square of 500 yards, and capable of holding perhaps 20,000 men. This is the extreme limit that can be assigned as far as present evidence goes to Agricola's famous advance.[2] The site of the battle of Mons Graupius, mis-written Grampius, has never been fixed. How far Agricola contributed to lay down, or if he contributed at all to lay down, the other Roman road in Scotland which came up from the Solway Firth, is uncertain. Here we must leave him. We are tempted to make much of him, because he is so conspicuous in literature and stands out as the greatest conqueror and organiser in Britain. He left his mark by doing most to conquer the west and the north, yet both predecessors and successors had their share in taming for a time the Silurians and the Brigantians, and the Caledonians were never tamed.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xxxii. Some fine photographs illustrate this article. See Allcroft, p. 331.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvi.

The seat of military government was transferred from Lincoln to York as a more advanced base was necessary when the Brigantian territory was occupied. The 9th Legion was engaged at work in York at least in the year 108 when Trajan was emperor. Suddenly it disappears from the Roman army list. It had suffered much in the war of Boadicea, and again during Agricola's war in Caledonia, and now, owing to some terrible unrecorded disaster at the hands of the Brigantes, either was annihilated or was so reduced in numbers that it was deemed useless to recruit it up to full strength again. The Emperor Hadrian came to York in 120, and about the same time the 6th Legion was brought over from Germany.[1]

It was the Emperor Domitian who reversed the forward policy of Agricola and gave up the idea of permanently conquering Caledonia. A policy of retrenchment was nothing new in Roman history. The first emperor, Augustus himself, had bequeathed it as his legacy to Tiberius that no further conquest should be made beyond the Roman boundaries of his time. Of course, it is a difficult problem to decide whether any imperial race ought to, or indeed can, stand still; willingly or unwillingly it is forced to conquer some new strip of ground in order to protect the ground last conquered. The invasion of Aulus Plautius was itself a violation of Augustus's wish. But the impetus of empire is bound to exhaust itself sooner or later. Domitian was probably wise to husband the strength of Rome, instead of weakening it by over-extension. That he recalled Agricola in a spirit of jealousy is beside the question. But it is with the Emperor Hadrian that we associate the concentration of Roman strength upon the frontier below the Cheviots; and the Great Wall still bears his name. A belt of military occupation along the frontier was called by the Romans *limes;* there was another *limes* between the Upper Danube and the Rhine. Hadrian drew his boundary from Wallsend on the estuary of the Tyne to Bowness on the Solway Firth. It is not to be supposed that he never meant the line to be passed, for the Romans always had some outposts beyond the Great Wall, and a *limes* signifies rather a belt of borderland than a single wall.

[1] T. P. Cooper, *York.*

We have to consider three things, the so-called *vallum*, the *turf wall*, and the great *stone wall*. The *vallum*, south of the Great Wall, is really a wide and not very deep trench, thirty feet on an average from lip to lip and seven feet deep, from which the earth was thrown up on either side to serve as a rampart. It is said to possess no military value, and is generally thought nowadays to have been projected as a boundary line; yet it may have been a rough and quickly devised method of defence against attack from either the south or the north, so that the workers could be protected while they were making the main wall. It is of the same date as the original main wall; in some places it comes near, and in others it swerves away, but it never actually crosses it; once or twice it swerves deliberately so as to avoid one of the permanent forts, and even in one place serves as the ditch of a fort. Secondly, there was the *turf wall* built of sods tightly packed together, with a deep V-shaped ditch on the north side only. As a matter of fact the turf wall has only been discovered for the space of about two miles at Birdoswald, where the line crosses the highest part of the watershed, but it is a fair inference that turf was first used along the whole line before a rebuilding in stone. This stretch of two miles of turf simply disappears, and its line is carried on by the stone at the two junctions. There is a reason why it remains at just this spot, for the River Irthing here flows beneath a bank liable to landslip, and so it would seem that the later builders preferred to run the stone wall a bit further to the north. We have an instance of turf being replaced by stone in the district of the Carpathians: "*muros cespiticios lapide restituerunt.*" Now this discovery of the turf wall certainly has the merit of solving an historical difficulty. The Emperor Hadrian has always been credited with the work, yet we have a definite statement by a Roman historian that Septimius Severus fortified Britain by a wall from sea to sea. Therefore it is now possible to hazard a theory that Hadrian worked in turf, and Severus along exactly the same line, except for these two miles, in stone.[1]

[1] Articles by Professor Haverfield, Mrs. Hodgson, Messrs. Holmes and Gibson, deal with recent explorations in *Cumberland and Westmorland Arch. Soc.*, vols. xiv, xv, xvi, and N.S. i, ii, iii; and *Archæologia Æliana*, vols. xxiii, xxiv, xxv.

The Great Wall was some seventy-three and a half miles long and is only visible on the lonely moorland of the watershed. The picture with which we are most familiar is taken from Housesteads, and shows it climbing and dipping as far as the eye can reach. To east and west on cultivated land it has disappeared, but its ditch survives almost everywhere, and there are many traces especially in such names as Wallsend, Walby, Walton. Marshal Wade's military road, constructed after Prince Charlie's invasion in 1745, took the line of the Great Wall in some places and destroyed it. Castles, houses, cottages, churches, have been made out of the stones, for the mortar was poor and it was easily dismantled. At Chollerford a bridge was constructed over the North Tyne where the wall came to the river on either hand, and was afterwards altered and strengthened; one presumes that the earlier bridge is of the same date as the turf, and the later of the same date as the stone wall. The details of the work of alteration are very interesting, but would take too long to describe; the stone blocks were held together with iron cramps and ties run in with lead. Some of the apparatus for a drawbridge has been traced on the eastern bank, and the passage was effected by planks laid from pier to pier.[1] The fort of "Chesters" defended the bridge, being built or enlarged at some date later than the wall itself, for it is astride the wall, and the original V-shaped ditch has been found in the middle of it. Corbridge two and a half miles to the south was a town and depôt in rear of the wall upon the main street which comes up from York, and it has ruins of magnificent military buildings. There were sixteen or seventeen wall-camps, most of them on the south side, a few striding across like Chesters, the larger of them five to six acres, others about three acres, and therefore accommodating 1000 or 500 men respectively. Smaller stations between the wall-camps are called mile-castles and were held by pickets, and there were also towers at shorter intervals. The regular legions helped to build the Great Wall, but the permanent garrison was composed of auxiliaries. To the south ran a "mural road," by which detachments could be hurried up to reinforce any wall-camp or mile-castle that was threatened,

[1] Mr. S. Holmes, *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. xvi.

and various roads connected it with York and with Chester to bring up the legions in case of need. In ordinary times there must have been here a bustling life, some 10,000 to 15,000 auxiliary soldiers, with camp followers and traders forming a busy population. The "amphitheatre" at Housesteads, merely a shallow depression with a curving floor, has been proved to have been a quarry. More interesting is the Mithreum outside the fort of Housesteads, the temple of Mithras, whose worship, connected with the sun and a doctrine of atonement, spread from Asia rapidly through the Roman Empire, especially among soldiers. Specimens of Mithraic art exist in Britain, for instance in the museum at York, and the favourite group is a representation of the god slaying a bull which dies for other animals.[1]

Some of the forts lying north of the Great Wall must have been occupied after Hadrian's time, as at High Rochester and Bewcastle, perhaps still at Newstead. The very strong fort at Birrens, north of the Solway and eight miles in a straight line from Bowness, is known to have been occupied in the 21st tribunate[2] of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 158, but it may have been founded earlier. It measures within its inner rampart 171 yards by 105, or nearly four acres; it lies at the angle of two burns, the banks of which have been constantly falling in, so that on the east and south the defences have almost disappeared, but on the north it had a very wide rampart and a series of six shallow trenches, just like those at Ardoch, designed to be lined with spikes and to keep at bay the Caledonian slingers. The measurements of the whole area, and of an annexe on its western side, are 350 yards by 223. The garrison, at least in the year 158 A.D., consisted of a cohort of Tungrians, 1000 strong, with a proportion of cavalry, who had Latin rights.[3]

About A.D. 140 the Emperor Antoninus Pius conceived the idea of a further advance, and drew the wall which bears his name between the Forth and the Clyde. The work was carried out by his legate Lollius Urbicus. Each of the three

[1] Article by Canon Hicks (the Bishop of Lincoln) in Bruton's *Roman Fort at Manchester.*

[2] An emperor was perpetual tribune, and "tribune for the 21st time" is the ordinary Roman method to signify "21st year of his reign."

[3] *Society Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xxx.

regular legions was brought up, and each had its sections to build. It was a wall of sods 14½ feet wide on a foundation of stone slabs, and as it passed through much fertile lowland it has naturally suffered more than the Great Wall, so that it has largely disappeared during centuries of farming and engineering. On its north side was its ditch, to the south a military road and forts at intervals. Some dozen forts or wall-camps can be traced, most of them ramparted with earth, but the one at Castle Cary with stone. Bar Hill fort was constructed so as to enclose the small Agricolan fort. The garrison, as on the Great Wall, was composed of auxiliaries, and indeed was chiefly drafted from the garrisons on the older wall. As elsewhere in Caledonia, annexes were added to the forts to accommodate extra troops.

The period of frontier troubles continued, even though there were now two walls with their garrisons. Under the next emperor, Marcus Aurelius, the Brigantes as well as the Caledonians were on the war-path. Perhaps now the little town of *Isurium* (Aldborough in Yorkshire) had to be protected by a stone wall; it may be that the Agricola who built Hard Knot in Cumberland was Calpurnius Agricola, who was the legate of Marcus Aurelius, and not his great namesake of a century back. At any rate there was much war in this reign, A.D. 161 to 180, which weighed heavily on the emperor's mind, and which continued into the reign of his cowardly and incompetent son Commodus. It is with the death of Commodus in A.D. 192 that a period of fatal civil war began. The worst feature of the empire was that no fixed rule of succession could be devised, and though occasionally a father was succeeded by his son, rarely was ability to govern inherited. Frequently in the next two centuries we find the death of an emperor followed by war between various candidates, each thinking himself the proper man to reign and each at the head of legions. The army in Britain sometimes put forward its own chief as being just as good a man as the *legatus* of Gaul, or Spain, or Syria. Thus a certain Clodius Albinus took over the soldiers from Britain to take part in the fray, and fell in a terrible bloody battle near Lyons where his rival Septimius Severus triumphed. Meanwhile the Caledonians broke through both walls, and the state of affairs in Britain must have been

in the utmost confusion. This period of civil war, short though it was, proved that the fate of Rome was sealed. Sooner or later the barbarians would triumph when she had exhausted her strength by war within. Yet there was many a rally. The sack of Rome by the Goths was yet two centuries distant. Septimius Severus at last came to Britain A.D. 208, restored order, and invaded Caledonia. However, he abandoned Antonine's Wall, and contented himself with rebuilding the Great Wall in stone to take the place of Hadrian's turf—that is to say if the arguments used above be sound; if the stone wall be indeed Hadrian's, Severus restored and repaired it. With its outposts, such as the fort of Birrens, the Great Wall remained the extreme boundary.

It seems to be about this period, whether just a little before or after A.D. 200, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Severus, that the walls of Chester, Silchester, and London were built. At Chester the lower courses of the east and north walls, as we have noticed previously, are now acknowledged by antiquarians to be of Roman work, and tombstones were built in, in such a way as to indicate panic or at least rapid building in face of a powerful enemy. Some experts [1] confidently assign the second Roman wall of London to this period. It was built across the Wall-brook, and though a couple of culverts were inserted to let the water through, it effectually acted as a dam; the brook overflowed and created a swamp on the north side of London. From the bed of the Wall-brook coins in considerable numbers have been picked up of early emperors up to Marcus Aurelius, but there is a total absence of later coins. Thus we have a tolerably clear indication of the date when the second London wall was built, the course of the stream checked, and swampy conditions set up so that nobody could live on its banks. Another expert antiquarian some time ago fixed upon this reign as the date when London Bridge was built. When the present bridge was being made the piles of the Roman bridge were discovered, and vast quantities of Roman coins were dredged up; in particular, medallions of Marcus Aurelius, the Empress Faustina, and Commodus were found

[1] See above, p. 64.

beneath the central piles, and it is a natural inference that they were put in there on purpose to commemorate the construction of the bridge. Possibly also the fine bust of the Emperor Marcus which was found in the Thames was originally put up as a memorial of its construction.[1] It was exactly where medieval London Bridge stood, alongside the present bridge.

London Wall with its moat was 3 miles and 250 yards long, and was the wall of medieval and indeed of almost modern London. Between its semicircle and the Thames was an area of 380 acres, five times greater than the area of first Roman London. But the whole of the ground was not densely inhabited, and there were gardens and deserted areas inside. The original surface is now 10 to 15 feet below the present pavement, except where depressions have been filled in such as the bed of the Wall-brook. We begin at the river just to the east of the White Tower, and trace northwards by Jewry Street, north-westwards by Camomile Street where Houndsditch preserves the name of the moat, westwards by London Wall, and, after a couple of angles near Christ's Hospital, southwards by the Old Bailey and about half-way down Ludgate Hill so as to strike the river again to the east of Blackfriars Bridge. The site of the only proved Roman gate was found just inside the north-west angle of Newgate Prison, but there is a picture of Aldgate as it appeared in 1592 between a couple of bastions. Bishopsgate cannot but have been Roman originally, for the line of Erming Street from the north points straight at it. London Bridge gave access to the branch road which ran along the present Borough High Street so as to reach Watling Street; there are traces of Roman houses in Southwark, built mostly upon piles, but of no fortifications south of the river. That a road from Aldgate to Newgate intersected a road from Bishopsgate to London Bridge would be thought to be likely, only it is unfortunate for such a theory that masses of masonry seem to bar the way. On the other hand no competent authority now argues that Watling Street ran obliquely across London from the bridge to Newgate. There can be little doubt that the great road from Colchester was diverted

[1] See Lethaby, *London before the Conquest*. C. Roach Smith.

from its old line so as to cross the Lea at Stratford, enter Roman London at Aldgate, and leave at Newgate; it has been found just south of our Newgate Street. Then it ran along High Holborn, and struck the older road, i.e. Theobald's Road, at a point somewhere near Mudie's. Roman remains, including those of a bath, show that there was a track from Ludgate along the Strand westwards.

It is impossible to say exactly when Erming Street was extended so as to run direct from London to the north. The Itinerary connects London with Lincoln either by way of Colchester, or by a detour along Watling Street and thence along the Fosse Way past Leicester. But the extension was certainly made, and as the new Erming Street ran straight from Bishopsgate we infer that it was laid down when this second Roman wall of London was in existence. The course was up the Lea to Ware, on to Braughing where earthworks of a posting-station are traced and where a cross-track from Colchester—the Essex Stane Street—comes in, to Royston where Icknield Way is crossed, and thence to Godmanchester. Therefore it pierced the great Forest.

Similarly no date can be assigned to the Sussex Stane Street between London and Chichester. It runs in five straight lengths crossing the ridges of downs at right angles, and near London is wrongly called Erming Street. The section which climbs the shoulder of Bignor Hill and then descends in a straight line with the spire of Chichester Cathedral is clearly marked, being narrow and raised above the heath like a low rampart. One hesitates to assert that it was of vital importance to link up Chichester with London; the Romans had no fort here, and there was no military necessity [1] for a track; coins show that the period when Chichester flourished was before A.D. 300. *Clausentum*, which cannot have had much commerce, was closer to London by the Winchester road. But the chief interest of Stane Street is that it plunged right through the heart of the great forest of the Andredesweald, and thus traversed much uninhabited ground. So, too, the London-Braughing section of Erming Street pierced through Epping Forest. Thus

[1] A critic has frequently asserted that Stane Street is the only purely military road in Britain, but he seems to try to prove his point by mere frequency of assertion.

the Romans were pioneers in opening out country where the Saxons afterwards settled. We must imagine a broad belt of trees cut down on either side of each road.

The best period of the Roman Empire in Europe would be acknowledged by everybody to have extended over the first two centuries, in spite of the reigns of such tyrants as Caligula and Nero, and in spite of the terrible civil war of A.D. 69. Yet the second century in Britain, at any rate in the north, was a time of incessant trouble caused by the Brigantians and Caledonians. "Peace hardly set in till the opening of the third century. It was then, I think, that country houses and farms first became common in all parts of the civilised area. The statistics of datable objects discovered in these buildings seems conclusive on this point. Except in Kent, and the south-eastern region generally, coins and pottery of the first century are infrequent and many sites have yielded nothing earlier than A.D. 250. Despite the ill name that attaches to the third and fourth centuries, they were perhaps for Britain, as for parts of Gaul, a period of progressive prosperity. Certainly the number of British country houses inhabited during the years A.D. 250–350 must have been very large." Thus writes Professor Haverfield.[1] We may take it, then, that the troubles of civil war which vexed the empire at large in just these centuries did not do much damage to the remote province of Britain. Yet between A.D. 250 and 350 the towns of Gaul were being walled, and Rome herself was walled by the Emperor Aurelian A.D. 275; civil war rather than danger from barbarians seems to be the reason of such fortification. Whether the majority of the British towns were fortified now cannot be determined. We have reason to believe that at least Chester, Silchester, and London were fortified already. But for Rochester, Colchester, Verulam, Caistor, we have no evidence as to date.

Pirates from the lowlands of North Germany, who were called by the general name of the Franks, began to vex the coast of Gaul in the third century. The Roman Government had always maintained a fleet, the *classis britannica*, of which the headquarters were at Boulogne. In 286 the

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy;* 1905–6, p. 209.

admiral, Carausius by name, who is said to have been of mean birth and not a Roman, made common cause with the pirates, went over with them to Britain, and set himself up as emperor. At this time the whole empire was rent by civil war, and it was not till 292 that Constantius was able to recapture Boulogne, not till 296 that he headed an expedition to reconquer Britain. In the meantime a certain Allectus rose against the usurper Carausius and made himself emperor in turn. The account that we possess of the campaign is extremely vague,[1] but we gather that Constantius's fleet slipped past the Isle of Wight under cover of a fog and took Allectus by surprise. The usurper's army was badly beaten, and a remnant of the Franks fled to London, which they looted, and prepared to escape by sea; but Constantius appeared quickly, the Franks, loaded with their spoil, were taken by surprise and destroyed. It is probably to this date that we should put down the re-fortification of second Roman London, not that the great three-mile wall required rebuilding, but that it was thought advisable to build up against it a series of bastions along the landward front, and a new wall along the river bank, where there had previously been none. Mr. C. Roach Smith traced the line of the river wall along Thames Street, where he found a foundation of timber piles above which rose stonework.[2]

The mention of Constantius reminds us of the time when the Roman Empire was divided for the sake of greater security into an eastern half under Diocletian and a western half under Maximian. Constantius, with the title of Cæsar, was a sort of sub-emperor and colleague to Maximian, and had his capital at York. It was from York that his son Constantine started on his expedition to win the empire and to refound the old city of Byzantium as Constantinople. Therefore in a sense we look upon York as the mother of

[1] *Panegyrici Latini* (Teubner), edit. Baehrens. A mere courtier, who wrote with fulsome flattery in honour of Constantius. His object is to prove that the victor was hailed as a deliverer, and that no Romans, only barbarian Franks, were killed.

[2] See C. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*. As this was the first occasion when the strategic importance of London was recognised, many authorities think that the great London Wall itself was built now.

the new Rome of the East. But it is the acknowledgment of Christianity as the state religion that chiefly attracts us in connection with Constantine. In the fourth century there certainly was an organised Christian church in Britain, and as early as A.D. 314 three British bishops attended a Church Council at Arles in Gaul. Amongst Roman remains in Britain there are certain which bear Christian symbols, pieces of pavement, rings, lamps, and so on, which have been found in various places. At Silchester was laid bare the ground plan of a small "basilican" church. The word *basilica* requires a little explanation. Our authorities do not allow that the plan of a church was copied from the Roman *basilica*, or law-court. An acceptable theory is that the primitive Christians used to erect memorial chapels or *cellæ* over the tombs, or the reputed tombs, of martyrs. The *cella* was in fact a little shrine, open in front and rounded behind, raised above the ground as if over a tomb. Next, as Christianity prevailed and the faithful came to worship at the shrine of some prominent martyr, a hall was added and this was called a "*basilica*." "Many of the principal Roman *basilicæ* are situated outside the walls of the ancient city. This was the case with the two mightiest of them, of St. Peter's on the Vatican and St. Paul's on the road to Ostia. These churches originated in memorial *cellæ* of the martyrs whose bones were supposed to rest beneath them. The enthusiasm of the age brought ever-increasing throngs of the faithful to celebrate their feasts, and structures which at first were only chapels had grown by the fifth century into enormous churches. . . . Then the Church brought the martyrs into herself within the walls of Rome, and instead of building churches above the tombs dug tombs under the churches in which the precious treasures were deposited." [1] So we have the three portions of a sacred building, a tomb, a chapel above the tomb, and a hall where Christians could worship. These are the ancestors of the crypt, the sanctuary, which we usually call the chancel, and the nave; strictly speaking, a chancel is only the screen which shuts off the sanctuary from the nave. Thus "basilican" is simply a general name given to churches of this type. The plan

[1] Professor Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, pp. 64–66.

at Silchester shows a western rounded apse and a nave, the whole 30 feet long and 10 feet wide, with two aisles each 5 feet wide, and a porch which is known as a narthex running across the eastern end of nave and aisles. The floor was in tiles, with some finer mosaic in the apse, where probably stood the altar. The effect of the outward curve of the apse was that the priest serving behind the altar would look eastwards. Experts attribute the Silchester church to the fourth century.

As for other so-called Roman churches in Britain it seems most safe to accept the judgment of good authorities, who assign the work at St. Martin's near Canterbury, at St. Mary's in Dover Castle, and at Reculver, to Saxon days. At the west end of St. Martin's is some work which looks like Roman, and the mortar is pink; but the columns which adorned the church of Reculver, if indeed they really were Roman columns, were brought from elsewhere by the Jutes of Kent to decorate a church of their own. Clever copying of Roman plans and use of Roman material are marks of the work of the Jutes.

In the fourth century things began to be really serious in Britain. Bad government, which was the natural result of the civil wars which unsettled the heart of the empire, and renewed inroads of the tribes from the north over the Great Wall, mark its last half. At Corbridge in rear of the wall coins up to the year 340 are plentiful; there are none between 345 and 365, and just a few of later date. Therefore we infer an abandonment of the frontier, followed by a short temporary reoccupation under the general Theodosius. The blocking of all gateways on the wall argues an increasing dearth of men. "Significantly enough many of the lists of coins found in country houses close about 350–60. The rural districts, it is plain, began then to be no longer safe, and some houses were burnt by marauding bands and some abandoned by their owners."[1] In 378 the Romans were badly beaten by the Goths at Hadrianople, not 100 miles from Constantinople; but the Goths did not yet break up the empire.

The attacks of the sea pirates on our island were incessant. They were now called by the general name of Saxons rather than Franks. Troops had to be brought down to the east

[1] Haverfield, article quoted above.

and south-east coasts, and even the headquarters of the 2nd Legion had to be transferred from Caerleon to Richborough.[1] A new Roman official appears, the Count of the Saxon Shore, i.e. of the shore raided by Saxons. Nine stations were garrisoned from the Wash to the Channel under his supervision. The document from which we have the details is called the *Notitia Imperii* and it seems to be of a date as late as A.D. 400. Some of the nine were old ports now permanently garrisoned, such as the four in Kent; some were quite new fortresses, such as Burgh Castle and Pevensey and Porchester. The two furthest north were Brancaster in Norfolk, and Burgh Castle in Suffolk near Yarmouth. As a wide stretch of coast had to be guarded by each, a garrison of cavalry was necessary. The works at Brancaster, as seen now, are but a slight swelling in the ground, a square of 190 yards each way. At Burgh Castle is an oblong alongside the River Waveney, of which three sides are still almost perfect; we have already noticed that these walls are constructed of large flints, and the face is diversified by six bands of bright red tiles, each band three deep, but not penetrating through the heart of the wall; the bastions are solid and built up against the walls, not bonded in. The general appearance of Burgh Castle is certainly imposing, though the walls are of no great height. The third fortress, Othona, is identified with Bradwell in Essex, and has partly disappeared before the encroaching sea. The fourth was at Reculver at the north end of the channel which then cut off the Isle of Thanet, and it, too, has largely disappeared, so that indeed hardly more than the southern stretch of its all-stone wall remains. Richborough, the chief port of Britain during the whole of the Roman period, was obviously now the centre of the defence as shown by the presence there of the 2nd Legion. The broken masses of very lofty walls on three sides, plentifully bonded with tiles, are eloquent of careful defence of an important post, and indeed, as the port was so much needed and troops are recorded to have landed here frequently, the walls may

[1] That the main body of the legion was transferred seems probable because we are told that the commander or *præpositus* was stationed at Richborough, and this implies that the main strength of the legion was with him. Since the military reform of Diocletian, about A.D. 300, we hardly know what the strength of a legion was, but there was still a difference between legionaries and auxiliaries.

Pevensey; bonding of stone; Norman herring-bone in the bastion

Richborough and River Stour

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be much older than A.D. 400. At one time it was thought that there was no wall along the sea-front, but this is a mistake, and traces of a sea-wall have been found at the foot of the cliff. The sea deserted Richborough, so that the Jutes in their day abandoned it and the Normans never cared to utilise it, and its place was taken by Sandwich, three miles off. And so to-day we see Richborough in its deserted and wrecked condition, standing high above a belt of coast which has been formed there since Roman days. At Dover the Roman fortifications down by the harbour have disappeared, for this port has had a continuous life such as is fatal to the preservation of relics. The ruins of Stutfall Castle at Lympne show work of the same type as at Richborough, walls faced with squared stones and bonded with double rows of tiles; the Normans used much of the material for their castle and church, and a landslip has ruined the rest; the erection of the Rhee Wall has shut out the sea and converted what was a lagoon into Romney Marsh, so that now the sea-fortress of Lympne is well inland.

A great deal of interest attaches to Pevensey, for not only did the Conqueror land here, but also his brother Robert of Mortain built a Norman castle inside the Roman fortress, so that we have most interesting facts as to how Norman architects utilised Roman work. That the Roman *Anderida* is Pevensey is generally acknowledged, and the discovery of a tile stamped "HON . AUG / ANDRIA" is conclusive that here we have a fortress of the Saxon Shore; and it was re-fortified, if not originally constructed, under the Emperor Honorius. Pevensey is at the eastern tip of a long narrow peninsula, then washed by the sea at its southern edge and by an inlet on the east and north.[1] A few Neolithic men once lived here. The Roman walls were constructed at the outer edge of the peninsula on a foundation of heavy clay, and clay was thrown up against the inner face; in their days the Normans raised the interior plateau much higher by dumping a very large amount of the same clay, and the result has been that even the powerful and very lofty Roman walls have been unable to bear the weight of the outward thrust and great pieces have fallen outwards.

[1] Pevensey Level is but a few feet higher than mean sea-level.

The bastions are at irregular intervals, being closest together on the west side where was the landward approach, and they are bonded into the wall and therefore of the same date. The southern wall was decorated, on the outward face only, by two double bands of tiles; but in the northern wall the bonding courses are quite irregular, partly of tile and partly of stone. We see the oval ring of walls and bastions, standing in some places almost as the Romans left them, in other places mended by the Normans, in other places overthrown, almost the whole of the sea-wall fallen, the inner area now a grazing ground; yet the eye can picture the complete station.[1]

The ninth and last of the series is *Portus Adurni* which is almost certainly Porchester. There are no Roman remains at Bramber on the River Adur to justify an identification, and if Porchester at the head of Portsmouth Harbour is not actually *Portus Adurni*, it was at least fortified about the same date and in much the same style as the other fortresses of the Saxon Shore. Unlike Pevensey, Porchester was not abandoned by the Saxons, but was one of their burghs at the time of Edward the Elder. Under the Normans it became a royal fortress, but was abandoned later when the deeper water at the mouth of the harbour led to Portsmouth taking its place. The last use to which Porchester was put was to accommodate French prisoners at the time of the great Napoleonic war.

These nine fortresses take up some $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 10 acres each, and possibly the garrison of each averaged about 1000 men. Only Richborough had legionaries, and only Brancaster and Burgh Castle had cavalry. The *Notitia Imperii* shows us that at the same time the Great Wall and several of the Roman posts from the Wall southwards towards Doncaster were still garrisoned, and the 6th Legion was still at York, but no mention is made of Chester, and we presume that it had been abandoned like Caerleon.

There was just one flash of Roman spirit shown before the final collapse. A great general, Stilicho by name, repulsed the Goths in Italy and sent reinforcements to Britain so as to strengthen the Saxon Shore, and the marauders were for a time held at bay. A court poet, doubtless ex-

[1] Report of excavators and information given *in situ*.

aggerating, puts it that Britain owing to his efforts no longer feared the Picts and Scots, nor was on the look out for Saxons sailing towards the coast.

> "*Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem*
> *Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore tuto*
> *Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.*"

Perhaps, as suggested above, the fortress of Pevensey was actually now constructed; but, if so, it served the Romans but a short time. The end was bound to come, but it was brought about not by the Saxons forcing an entry, but by the Romans deserting the island. An adventurer who called himself Constantine carried off from Richborough in A.D. 407 all the troops that he could collect, and sailed away to try to make himself Roman Emperor. The Romano-Britons were now left to protect themselves.

CHAPTER III

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

I.—The Conquest and the Settlement

Though a detailed history of the Anglo-Saxon conquest is out of place, yet it would be difficult for any one to understand the importance of his own locality in the Anglo-Saxon period unless he had some general idea of the approximate date of the arrival of the German conquerors, of the development of their life and customs, of their struggles against each other, and later on against the Danes. The period lasts over six centuries and falls into two divisions. Between 450 and 850 the Angles and Saxons conquered and settled. Between 850 and 1066 they were always fighting the Danes and beginning to come under Norman influence.

Unluckily the facts of the early conquest are not at all clear. We may be certain that the new-comers at first were not in large numbers, and that other bodies, attracted by their success, gradually came in upon their heels and attached themselves to those who had got the greater reputation as conquerors. In their heathen days the pirates had neither the means nor the wish to leave a history of their exploits. War songs alone would give facts of battles and sieges, and of course war songs exaggerate the importance of some particular great man or great tribe. After the conversion to Christianity clerics began to write; yet for the earliest facts they had to depend upon the traditions embodied in the war songs. The Venerable Bede of Northumbria wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* about A.D. 700. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was probably taken in hand about 850, was put into the shape in which we now read it under Alfred, and was regularly continued under his successors; the object of the *Chronicle* clearly was to prove that Egbert, and after him Alfred, had reconquered—Egbert from the Mercians,

Alfred from the Danes—land which the West Saxons had originally conquered and held at a very early date. Therefore when we study this or that passage we should always put before ourselves this question: How would a Saxon of Alfred's day interpret the statement? Next, when possible, we should compare the statement with what Bede has said, so as to contrast the Northumbrian and the West Saxon points of view. If only we had a Jutish or an East Saxon Chronicle we may be perfectly sure that events would be presented to us in a different light. Great is the reputation of any man or any tribe who has on his side the historian. The well-known tag of Horace tells us that good men lived before Agamemnon. The Black Prince has his Froissart, and Henry V and Fluellen have Shakespeare. It is right that all these should have their exploits recorded, and the historians have told us about them because they were great men, but others may have done great deeds and simply suffered because they have had no chronicler. The reign of Alfred is, of course, the culminating period of Anglo-Saxon history. Events seem to lead up to it and from it, and not only we have the *A.S. Chronicle*, but also the biography written by the Welsh cleric Asser, who was Alfred's friend and contemporary. For earlier events we have the British writer Gildas who lived about 550. Place-names give us a certain amount of help. If we find it difficult to reconcile the story as given by Gildas and Bede and the *Chronicle*, it is still more difficult to reconcile the interpretations of modern writers. Mr. W. H. Stevenson believes that in the *Chronicle* "through the mists of song and tradition we may claim that we may discern the blurred outline of real events." [1] Mr. Chadwick would reconstruct the whole story and believes that the West Saxons penetrated up the Thames valley.[2]

The first thing to notice is that the swarms of pirates, who were called by outsiders Saxons but mostly called themselves Angles or English, raided not only Britain but also the coasts of north and even west France. They have left their traces in scores of place-names of villages in the land around Calais and Boulogne. Next, the Romano-Britons

[1] Article in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1899, and his notes to Asser's *Life of Alfred*.

[2] *The Origin of the English Nation.*

were by no means helpless or cowed. They held out for a long time in the south-west and in the midlands and the north-west, whilst the new-comers only occupied the south-east and east in the years 449–600, the dates to be taken roughly.

The conquest of Kent by the Jutes may be taken as a general fact; their name disappeared, but their peculiar customs survived. They were the first converts to Christianity, and therefore first had priests who could write. There is really no need to reject Hengist and Horsa as mythical characters, for though the names may be uncommon they are not unique, and other Hengists and Horsas have left their mark in various places, such as Hengistbury Head near Bournemouth and Horsham in Sussex. They may have really fought a battle at Aylesford on the Medway, where the Pilgrims' Way seems to have crossed that river and on the rising ground above which stands the old Neolithic tomb, Kit's Coty House. A second battle was at Crayford, but there may have been a British victory which stopped the advance of the Jutes. The most important fact is that they did not penetrate inland either by the Pilgrims' Way or by Watling Street, and we would infer a successful concentration of the Britons to cover London.

Also in Kent we have the group of oldest churches as the result of St. Augustine's mission. Bede has it that a Christian church existed near Canterbury in Roman days, a statement which seems to be supported by the character of some of the work and by the pink mortar in the west part of the nave. Yet competent experts decide for a post-Roman date. At least we can suppose the Queen Bertha, Ethelbert's wife and a Frankish princess, built on a Roman site with Roman tiles set in mortar in Roman style before St. Augustine actually landed. Martin had been an influential bishop at Tours, and his memory was widely venerated. The little church is composed of an aisleless nave and a slightly narrower chancel which originally terminated in a rounded apse, total length seventy feet. The apse is to the east, unlike that of Silchester, and its floor is a step higher than the chancel, as the floor of the chancel is higher than the nave. Therefore, even where there is actually no crypt, the effect is produced as if the sanctuary were really above a

crypt. Similar churches with apses were those of St. Pancras at Canterbury, of Lyminge, and of Rochester, of which the ground plans have been traced. At Reculver was a monastic church, much larger and planned with nave and aisles, which were separated from the chancel by three arches; the two columns which were stolen from this church and are now at Canterbury, if really Roman, were not made for it, but were of older work and put in for the sake of ornament. This little group of Kent churches shows that the early Jutes at least imitated Roman methods of building with some success, if their work has been mistaken for genuine Roman.

The attack of the South Saxons under Ella and his three sons may be true. Certainly the capture and sack of Pevensey in 491, nearly a century after it had been garrisoned in the reign of Honorius, must be accepted; the layer of black earth within the Roman walls is proof of destruction and burning. Mr. Stevenson rejects the theory that Ella's sons gave their names to Cymeneshoreham (shortened to Shoreham) and Lancing and Chichester, also the other theory that the names of the men were coined from the places. Like the Jutes the South Saxons did not spread. They had the Stane Street by which they could have pierced even through the Andredesweald, whilst by sea and by the Roman coast road they could have moved westwards upon Porchester. But Sussex was a kingdom apart and has since remained a county apart. It must have been fairly well populated if we may judge from the density of the villages on the lower slopes of the downs, and in later days there were no less than sixty Sussex hundreds. There was a certain amount of expansion from the south downs to the middle downs, and the place-names of villages show us that they occupied on the skirts of Ashdown Forest and of St. Leonard's Forest land where there are barely any traces at all of pre-Roman occupation. But they did not penetrate through Surrey to the Thames. The Andredesweald was indeed not so dense as to prevent a certain amount of expansion northwards, and we may reasonably guess that there were other cross-tracks and roads, beside the Stane Street, which the Romans had made and so the South Saxons could use.

The East Saxons, if they were not actually the first to

reach London, at least occupied London and made it their metropolis shortly after 600 ; of this fact we have a definite statement from Bede. They extended across the river into Surrey, so called because it was the " south " district beyond London.

As regards Wessex, let us first take the difficulties. Bede tells us most definitely that the Isle of Wight originally, and the valleys of the Meon and the Hamble rivers still in his life, were occupied not by West Saxons but by Jutes ; we might be disposed to think that, if the Isle of Wight and the shores of Southampton Water were occupied by Jutes, there was no opportunity for the West Saxons to effect a landing. Next, the names of the chieftains, as recorded by the *Chronicle*, are suspicious. Cerdic and Cynric have a Welsh sound ; Port and Wightgar seem to be coined to account for Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight ; the names might possibly be Saxon, argues Mr. Chadwick, and we might be able to explain away one or another, but it is more than suspicious that we have to explain no less than four. But, on the other hand, the difficulty is that, if the West Saxons did not come to Southampton Water and conquer inland, it is almost impossible to explain what was their line of conquest. The original kingdom of Wessex comprised Hamtunscire, i.e. Hampshire, and Berrocscire, i.e. Berkshire ; Hampshire takes its name from Hamtun which we call Southampton, Berkshire is simply the shire of the box trees. The inference is that the first settlement about 500 was at Hamtun [1] and that the kingdom spread northwards, for otherwise the shire would have been named from a more central place. The presence of the Jutes alongside in the valleys of the Meon and Hamble is not at all inconsistent with the theory that the West Saxons seized the north shore of Southampton Water. They afterwards conquered the Jutes or annexed their land in such a way that no peculiar Jutish customs survived here as they did in Kent, and then about 850, when the *Chronicle* was drawn up, the presence of the Jutes was entirely disregarded and an obvious effort was made to concoct a story to show that West Saxons, under men for whom the names Port and Wightgar were coined, had been the original conquerors.

[1] Cerdicesora and Cerdicesleag cannot be identified.

Now the story of Roman Silchester gives us some help. The excavations prove that Silchester was deserted and left to decay by natural process. We can imagine the Britons retreating westwards and concentrating on the borders of Wiltshire and Dorset to resist further conquest. And they resisted successfully. Gildas, the British chronicler, tells us that Ambrosius Aurelianus, a chieftain of imperial blood, beat back the Saxons at Mons Badonicus forty-four years before he himself was writing, and at the moment that he wrote the Britons were at peace, having held off the Saxons, though they were unfortunately quarrelling amongst themselves. Another British writer, Nennius, of a much later date, tells a more elaborate tale of King Arthur's twelve great battles of which the twelfth was at Mount Badon. The *A.S. Chronicle* itself acknowledges that the advance westwards of the Saxons as far as Sarum, and their victory there over the Britons, did not take place until A.D. 552. Therefore, though it would be a little difficult to fit in Gildas's forty-four years backwards from 552, we have a general testimony that there was a period when the concentrated Britons successfully defended the south-west; and against whom? surely against the West Saxons, not against the handful of Jutes. Next we have the fact that a great body of Britons migrated from Cornwall to Armorica, which from them was renamed Brittany in the first half of the sixth century. A great deal of independent evidence coincides to prove this point, and thus it seems pretty clear that the Britons who deserted Silchester, and doubtless most of Hampshire and Berkshire, before the impetus of the West Saxon advance, retreated to the south-west towards their kinsfolk, helped to beat off the Saxons for the time being, and then migrated across to Brittany. Then when the West Saxons made a second advance they beat the Britons at Sarum, whether in the year 552, as the *Chronicle* says, matters little, and shortly afterwards again at Beranbury, which has been identified with Barbury Camp between Swindon and Marlborough. Mr. Chadwick allows the fact of a victory, though the date is doubtful, near Sarum. The settlement at Wilton at the mouth of the valley leading westwards from Sarum afterwards gave its name to Wiltshire.

Everybody is tempted to linger over the tale of Arthur,

the flower of chivalry, the champion of the cross against the fierce pagans. The feats of the real Aurelianus Ambrosius, a Roman and of blood imperial, may be confused with those of the heroes of other struggles in Cumberland and in Cornwall. Near Penrith is a ringwork of stones which seems to be some pre-Roman temple, and a round table, with which are grouped Arthurian associations. There is the legend attached to Tintagel where the castle is Norman; but the little town of Camelford and the River Camel have created the legend by suggesting Camelot. Yet again in East Somerset we find a village called Queen's Camel and a Camel River, and local tradition would have us believe that Cadbury Castle, the lofty and quadruply ramparted camp, which has yielded relics of the Stone and Bronze and Iron Ages, is indeed Camelot. We can only say that at any camp the Romano-Britons may have made a stand against the Saxons and at almost any period up to A.D. 700; that in several places a Christian chief may have beaten the pagans, and that all the stories, true and mythical, worked up together have produced the Arthur of literature out of Aurelianus and other heroes. The word Camelot itself gives no clue; it is simply derived from the pre-Roman war-god Camul.

The question of Glastonbury and the island of Avalon—the land of apples—is on a different plane. That there was a British centre of Christianity at Glastonbury before the Saxon monastery was founded is probable. Continuous religious life preserves something more than mere legend, and where Norman work rose on the site of Saxon, Saxon work may have risen previously on the site of British. On Weary-all Hill, where legend says that the weary Joseph of Arimathæa rested as he bore the Holy Grail, and where he thrust his stick into the ground so that it took root and flourished as a thorn tree—the queer puritanical temper of later days deliberately destroyed a tree which people believed to be actually Joseph's—we can take our stand and look over the shining white stones of the ruins of the thirteenth-century abbey; Glastonbury Tor on the right towers above the pleasant island valley; to the left against the sky the Mendips appear hazy. There is nothing to prevent the belief that a wounded British chieftain came here to die,

Glastonbury: "The Island Valley of Avilion" *Face page* 108

overthrown by domestic treason, after he had beaten back the pagans, and in every age the name of Arthur will be given to that chieftain. Our other thought evoked at Glastonbury is that the monastery, acknowledged by Thomas Cromwell to have been well conducted, was destroyed, its treasures stolen and carried off to fill the bottomless coffers of Henry VIII, and its guiltless abbot murdered, after a persecution more cynically shameless than any of all the cynical and shameless acts of even that monarch.

The Round Table preserved on the wall of the Great Hall of Winchester Castle deserves a word. It is a solid wooden table-top of great weight and strong workmanship, and its surface is marked by radiating lines showing by various colours where sat the King and twenty-four knights. It is said to date from Henry III's reign, and was used as a table for the last time when Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor, visited Henry VIII. The explanation is simple enough. Lovers of chivalry and adventure in the Middle Ages were fond of playing at being Arthur and his knights. Edward III was especially fond of the game, and feasted in character amongst his barons at Windsor; in fact, in reading his chroniclers, one grows somewhat weary of the story of his show and pretence, his Round Table and his Order of the Garter, his glittering tournaments and the flattery which hailed him as a second King Arthur. One chronicler gravely depreciates the really great Edward I, and says that a time was fated to come when an Edward would arise and conquer France, and be worthy to be compared with Arthur, etc., etc., *ad nauseam*. Though Edward III was the most conspicuous play actor in this rôle, and though his revels were at Windsor, one can easily understand a similar and earlier show at Winchester, even if it is with some difficulty that one can picture the feeble Henry III posing in the character of Arthur.

To this period we refer the construction of the long line of earthwork known as the Wans Dyke. It starts in Savernake Forest, runs westwards over the Marlborough Downs, descends and strikes the Silchester-Bath Roman road, follows on top of it for thirteen miles dead straight to a point opposite to Bath, reappears south of the Avon, and then bends up and down several combes and spurs, so as to bring some

old camps to the south of it. Being built on the top of the Roman road for those thirteen miles, it was post-Roman; having its ditch at the northern foot and camps to the south, it was a defence against some enemy coming from the upper Thames. The total length is eighty miles. It seems probable that the first construction from Savernake to Bath is the older, and was designed to keep out the Saxons when, defeated at Mount Badon, they were making a detour northwards so as to make a new attack towards Bath, and that the stretch from the Avon westwards was thrown up later after Bath had been captured. There is another such earthwork, the Bokerly Dyke, forming now the county boundary between Wiltshire and Dorset, which is also a post-Roman work because it crosses over the Sarum-Badbury road, but it is only four miles long, and would seem to have been never completed. It certainly gives us the impression of having been thrown up to block a Saxon advance from the east along that road, and perhaps was never completed because the battle of Mount Badon rendered the completion unnecessary. This is a good argument to identify Mount Badon, the scene of a great British victory, with Badbury Rings a few miles behind Bokerly Dyke. As regards such lines of earthwork in general, it may be said that a long fortified line is really but a weak defence. Feinting in one direction and breaking through in another, a clever enemy can defy such a barrier, even as Marlborough broke through the lines of the generals of Louis XIV; but if behind the many miles of earthworks are camps and soldiers waiting to pounce upon the enemy wheresoever he may try to break through, then the fortifications may be as effective as were Wellington's at Torres Vedras.

The Romano-Britons therefore were not so abjectly cowed after the Roman legions had been withdrawn that they could not defend themselves. The Latin tongue had disappeared, partly because the Anglo-Saxon conquest was very thorough, even if it was very slow, and partly because there was a Celtic revival, but "even in the sixth century they called themselves *Romani* in contrast to the surrounding barbarians. This Roman civilisation was perhaps limited to the nobles, clergy, and better educated persons, and it was naturally not permanent; communication with Rome

ceased while neighbouring Celtic influences encouraged Celtic ways and Celtic speech." [1]

The West Saxons, their path barred to the west from Hampshire and Berkshire, pushed northwards. Let us take this passage in the *Chronicle*, which deals with the story of an expedition north of the Thames, undertaken by Cuthwulf, brother of King Ceawlin, in 571. "He fought against the Britons at Bedcanford, and captured four places, Lygeanbury, and Æglesbury, and Bænesingtun, and Egonesham. In the same year he died." Four of these five places are readily identified; Bedcanford is Bedford—Bedca being but familiar for Beda, as Johnny would be for John. Eynsham on the Thames, above Oxford, was in later days held by the Bishops of Lincoln, and doubtless was a royal village before it was episcopal. Bensington on the Thames, below Oxford and near Wallingford—a place well known to boating men and lovers of Thames scenery—was always royal, and so was Aylesbury. Therefore we should expect to find Lygeanbury to be some important royal place. Mr. J. R. Green misunderstood Cuthwulf's campaign and made a guess at an utterly unimportant little place, Lenbury in Buckinghamshire. But Lygea is the ordinary name for the river which we call the Lea, and near the source of the Lea was Lygeatun, which has now become Luton, and which, together with a very great deal of land in South Bedfordshire, was royal property under the later Kings of Wessex. When Alfred made his celebrated Treaty with Guthrum in 885, the boundary line between Saxon and Dane was made to pass from the source of the Lea to Bedford; yet Bedford itself, on the north bank of the Ouse, remained on the Danish side. Green failed to see a connection between our passage in the *Chronicle* and the Treaty. Now let us ask ourselves, How would a West Saxon interpret the passage when he read it in Alfred's reign? Surely he would say something like this: Our good King claims that the land lying to the west of the Luton-Bedford boundary belongs to him, because 314 years ago Cuthwulf in one campaign occupied Eynsham and Bensington on the Thames, advanced up the Icknield Way, occupied Aylesbury en route, and mounted up into the uplands of the Chilterns to Luton; pushing on thence

[1] Haverfield, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1896.

to Bedford, Cuthwulf was beaten and slain; Alfred now claims the land, but not Bedford itself, by right of Cuthwulf's conquest.[1]

The next advance of King Ceawlin was from the upper Thames towards Bath. In 577 he won a battle at Deorham and slew three kings, and then captured Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Bath was deserted, and the Roman settlement allowed to go to ruin; the hot-water springs still flowed and covered over the Roman baths with soft mud, so that they were lost from sight. Later a Saxon monastery was built close at hand, and a Saxon cemetery spread over the hidden baths. Once more we ask how men of Alfred's day would interpret; would they not argue that, though the Mercians afterwards drove away the West Saxons from Cirencester and Gloucester, Egbert and Alfred could claim some right to reconquer and reoccupy in spite of the Mercians because Ceawlin reached here first?

Birinus was the apostle of Christianity to the West Saxons, and King Cynegils was baptised in 635. He fixed his bishop's seat at Dorchester on the Thames where the Icknield Way reached the river. Therefore, even if as early as this date the Mercians were disputing against the West Saxons the land that Cuthwulf had conquered up the Icknield Way, Bensington, and Aylesbury, and Luton—Dorchester being close to Bensington—at least the bishop was in a fine central position between the older Wessex of Berkshire and Hampshire and the newer Wessex of Cuthwulf's and Ceawlin's conquest.

The advance of the West Saxons into the east part of Somerset and into Dorset was from the north. King Ine finally made a settlement at Taunton in 710, having fought a British chief of the famous name of Geraint; also he founded, or restored, a monastery at Glastonbury. Professor Maitland has pointed out how in this country the Britons were neither

[1] Mr. W. H. Stevenson simply assumes that Lygeanbury is Luton. Professor Skeat objects that a place ending in *bury* would not be changed so as to end in *ton;* but there is a similar case in Dorset, where at the present day Shaston is a variant for Shaftesbury. Mr. Chadwick leaves the identification of both Lygeanbury and Bedcanford vague, yet with Alfred's Treaty to help us there can be little doubt. Other writers identify Lygeanbury with Leighton, but Skeat clearly shows that Leighton is Leak-town. —*Place Names in Bedfordshire.*

exterminated nor driven out. Saxons and Britons lived together as Christianity prevailed and mitigated ferocity, and the proof is to be seen in the villages ; in older Wessex we find the nucleated village in the midst of its fields, in Dorset and onwards the land is studded with hamlets or fragments of scattered villages. At Exeter the two races lived together, and to-day the churches of that city bear the names of British saints such as St. Petrock. East Somerset is said to be mostly Saxon in dialect and customs and physiognomy, west Somerset is British. This advance into the south-west gives us some explanation why the Mercians conquered the line of the Icknield Way and Gloucester ; the West Saxons pushing down as far as Devon were not strong enough to hold their northern lands against the Midlanders. We find Gloucester and Worcester in the hands of the Hwiccas ; it is disputed whether they were a branch of the West Saxons or an advanced party from the Midlands ahead of the Mercians, but soon this land became Mercian.

The Saxons on settling down had from the very first no use for towns and fortifications. They settled in villages as fast as they conquered, and, as with most conquerors, their swords and the terror of their name were their means of defence. The village is the conspicuous feature of Saxon life. They looked out for sites on water and off the Roman roads, cleared away trees, and took to farming. They have left their names everywhere. Rivers indeed still bear British names, Thames, Ouse, Adur, Avon. The British *combe* remains. But the great majority of terminations are Saxon : *hill, field, ford*—except where on the coast it is the Norwegian fiord—*well, wood, bourn* or *borne, ey*, i.e. island, *leigh* or *ley* (a clearance in a wood), *hurst* and *holt* (wood), *cote, stoke* (stockade), are common. But most common are *ham* and *ton*. Mr. Round thinks that *ham* is the earlier, as *heim* is common in Germany, whereas *thun, tun, ton* was invented by the Saxons themselves and is not found in Germany. This would at most be true of only the very earliest settlers. Sometimes a group of *hams* may be found on a river, pointing to an occupation by Saxons using the same termination, but usually our *hams* and *tons* are mixed up together. The first of all our " counties " shows the two combined, Hamtunscire. Across the sea, where we saw that the Saxons settled over an

area behind Boulogne, there are many villages such as Bazinghen and Raventhun close to each other and evidently all more or less of the same date; this Saxon settlement on the Gallic "Saxon Shore" is of great interest, yet it is but a fringe in comparison with the thorough Anglo-Saxon conquest in England. The general meaning of these terminations is a clearing for a homestead. Each group of families cleared so many *hides*, and a *hide* is acknowledged to be as much land as would maintain a family; an *acre*, if we put aside the question as to how many acres went to a hide, was as much land as could be ploughed in a day, and a *furlong*, i.e. furrow-long, as much as an ox-team could do in one stretch before requiring a rest and breathing-space. Strict mathematical measurements are not to be sought. *Hams* and *tons* may be added to personal names, Felmersham the homestead of Felmer, Kensington the village of the sons of Kensa; these patronymics are extremely common. Also we have physical features in Marston, the settlement on the marsh, while Cambridge and Tempsford show Saxon terminations added to British rivers.

The shape and position of a village are often instructive. For instance in parts of Hampshire we may find long and narrow, elsewhere wide and almost circular villages. The long and narrow show the value of the water, groups of huts being clustered on the water close to other groups, while the fields spread far away on either side. The wide and circular show that no neighbours elbowed close. Here may be found a string of settlements upon a river, there a string along the brow of a ridge. The country of the Nen shows a remarkable instance; for some miles down stream from Northampton the villages are all away from the river perched on the high banks of the valley, spire after spire seen clearly against the sky; further eastwards the villages are all close to the river. In the east of England the village is usually compact, the cottages close together and the arable land around; westwards we find many scattered hamlets and groups of houses making up one modern parish. Professor Maitland illustrates this contrast by two maps, the one of nucleated, the other of scattered villages; the nucleated show where the Angles or Saxons exterminated, drove off, or enslaved the Britons, and made their own new compact

settlements; the scattered show continued British life, especially in those districts of the south-west where they long held the West Saxons at bay.

The Saxons did not care to settle on the Roman roads. Probably the water question had most to do with it; villages are always to be found on, or at least near, water, even if now the only evidence of this is a miserable ditch, whereas a stretch of road between two Roman towns often runs over firm dry land. Also a band of warriors who had settled down to farm were not anxious to be near a track by which new pirates might arrive to dispossess them. Whatever the reason, the fact is evident to any one who knows Watling Street and Erming Street. Often the eighteenth-century turnpike diverges from the line of the Roman street to connect such places. In other cases we may now see an old parish church and cottages some distance off the road, and a new village and inns on the road, for habitation had to come to the track of waggons and coaches.

The farming was done in common. Three wide open fields were in rotation laid down, one with wheat or other grain for eating, and one with barley for beer, while one was left fallow. Or else there were two fields, one sown and one fallow. Each field was divided into strips or *yard-lands*, a furlong in length, separated by unploughed boundaries of grass called *baulks*. Imagine such a field divided into a hundred strips, this batch of ten strips running east and west, that batch of ten running north and south across the ends of the others, and so on, according to the lie of the ground. Suppose ten Saxon households in the village. They all plough and reap in common, but A and his family garner for themselves the corn off strips 1, 14, 26, etc., B and his family off strips 2, 17, 21, etc., and so on. The reason of the distribution is clear. If A's land lay in one piece he might get his work done and then shirk work for his neighbours, having his innings and refusing to field. Distribution helped common farming. Plans of such fields may be seen in Seebohm's *The English Village Community*, Miss Bateson's *Medieval England*, Mr. Fletcher's first volume, Canon Isaac Taylor's *Domesday Studies*, and other books. Miss Bateson gives a photograph of yard-lands and baulks still existing in the open in the parish of Bygrave in Herts. At Braunton,

in North Devon, just above the estuary of the Taw, is a field "said to cover 365 acres with its chessboard of unenclosed plots, a survival of the Anglo-Saxon system of communal landowning"; this field is on the flat, and there are also hillside terraces in the same parish. Near Worcester is a field which is to-day pegged out in areas each worked by a different farmer, though by mutual consent the same crop is grown over the whole field. Near Corbridge,[1] just below the Roman wall, remain four half-acre strips, and their corresponding baulks, 215 yards long on an average and 11 yards wide, i.e. not quite a furlong in length, and exactly 2 perches in breadth; when the land in the neighbourhood was enclosed in 1777 each of these four strips was apportioned to a different man, and they have been cultivated separately ever since. In Northumberland at that date the word "farm" was used in the sense of plough-land; a township included so many farms, i.e. so many sets of strips apportioned out to each peasant or farmer. But the best instance of survival is to be found in Nottinghamshire. "Virtually the whole of the parish of Laxton and a great portion of Eakring is still worked according to the open field system. The lands lie for the most part in disassociated strips, and even where one man has a number of adjacent lands he has not enclosed them. The strips are mainly quarter-acres, and all the familiar features of the open field system are represented in one or other of the two villages. Moreover at Eakring the old system of lot-meadows still persists; once a year the common meadows are divided and the farmers draw lots for their shares." [2]

"The earliest recorded standard of length in our country was the yard of the Saxon kings kept at Winchester. King Edgar is recorded to have decreed that the measure of Winchester should be the standard." Yet it is not the yard, but the perch, which has had most influence upon our land arithmetic. The chain of 22 yards, the furlong of 220 yards, and the acre of 4840 square yards, have become fixed as standard measures because multiples of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards "one rod, pole, or perch." A suggestion has been made that $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards was the average length of an ox-goad, which was taken as

[1] Mr. F. W. Dendy, *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. xvi.
[2] The facts communicated by Mr. F. M. Stenton.

the most handy instrument for measurement. We have an interesting instance of measurement of land by the perch in the reign of Henry II. At Ridgmont in Bedfordshire there was a dispute about a piece of land, which the villeins claimed to belong to them, but which had been unjustly seized by a sub-tenant of the lord of the manor. The Lord of Odell and the Lord of Thurleigh, descendants of the two men to whom William I had given a great deal of land in Bedfordshire, solemnly took their seats at a manor court, heard the evidence, and decided that the fields were to be divided equally into sixteen strips, and apportioned to the various peasants, which was done by the six oldest villagers, *per perticam*. In the reign of Edward I the outer court of Builth Castle is recorded to have covered 49 perches, and this bit of land when measured was found to be exactly 49 square perches. Therefore at Corbridge, Ridgmont, and Builth we have definite instances of standard measurement in post-Saxon days; but that in early Saxon days at least the hides and acres were roughly calculated, the acre representing a day's ploughing and the hide a family's farm of x acres, is fairly clear.[1]

Was common farming a German custom introduced as something new by the Saxons, or did they find it practised by the Britons?[2] We have already spoken of the hill-terraces which can be seen in many parts; various indications, the neighbourhood of old camps and barrows, the likelihood that when the Bronze Age men first took to agriculture with hand instruments they would naturally till the thinner soil of hills and not the heavy damp lowlands, point to these terraces being chiefly pre-Roman. If, therefore, the Saxons came over already accustomed to lay out their fields in strips, they found the terraces on the slopes ready made for their use, and themselves cleared the ground on virgin soil on the flat and on reclaimed forest-land. There is no evidence which will justify us to go further. Every student would find it interesting to look out for strips, and then to see if the country around shows occupation in the

[1] Chisholm, *Weighing and Measuring*, p. 50. Vinogradoff, *Villeinage in England*, p. 458.

[2] Arguments for German and non-German origin summed up by Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes supplementary to Stubbs*, trans. W. E. Rhodes, chap. i, p. 5 onwards.

Stone or Bronze or Iron Ages, if the instances are all on slopes or some few on the flat, and so on. Of course, what has survived to us to see now would illustrate Saxon methods which the Normans carried on in turn. Under the Tudors and finally under the Georges, when once private landowners got the common fields, the plough soon obliterated the divisions between strips, and thus only the hill-terraces survive as a rule because less easily destroyed, and, being on poor soil, less worth destroying.

Being thus devoted to country life the Saxons let the towns decay. Pevensey and Richborough and other places they deserted. Dover has had a continuous life, as such a port was necessary, also Canterbury and Rochester being on Watling Street, yet we do not know if any of these was really important till a later date. So, too, Winchester was not important as the capital of Wessex until the ninth century. A Saxon king had, not one capital, but several royal villages where he could live in turn and receive provisions and necessaries as rent; Winchester, Southampton, Wantage, Faringdon, Old Windsor, Bensington, etc., were all royal. Probably the Roman defences of Winchester still stood, but that they were carefully looked after is doubtful. On the other hand we are told that the enclosure of Winchester in Alfred's reign was only a hedge, which can hardly be believed; "hedge," boundary fence, need not be understood literally and can be taken as used metaphorically to mean the old Roman rampart. Even in the earliest days of Wessex, Winchester would not have been dismantled, though not yet the capital. On the contrary we see in the fate of Silchester a case of complete desertion; the Romano-Britons departed, and the Saxons left it severely alone; the upper parts of the houses, temples, forum, and basilica were pulled down for the sake of the material, and earth gradually covered up the foundations. For centuries Silchester has been a field within a stone wall. Now antiquarians have excavated the site from end to end, and tell us that there was no general conflagration, no massacre or sack, simply utter desertion. If any one should ask how remains can disappear, he has only to study Silchester. Excavation laid the place bare by sections, and for a time the floors of basilica and forum were left bare. But rain washed down earth, and worms

threw up earth; so it was useless to strive against nature, and the site has been covered in again and over the pavements and foundations of houses crops grow again within the ring-fence of the outer wall. We contrast the fate of Wroxeter. Where exploration has been possible, skeletons have been found and signs of deliberate damage; massacre and sack preceded destruction. Welsh or Picts, Saxons or Hwiccians or Mercians, whoever it may have been who destroyed Wroxeter, they wreaked their vengeance and vanished, no one knows whither or when.

The steps of West Saxon expansion are marked by the formation of shires. We have already seen that Hampshire is simply the shire of Hampton, i.e. Southampton. Wiltshire is named after Wilton, a little place to the west of Salisbury, which doubtless the West Saxon king occupied shortly after the battle of 552, and which, however humble it may seem, was one of King Alfred's burghs at the end of the ninth century. Somerset is named from Somerton, and Dorset from the first syllable of Dorchester; *set* is simply an alternative for shire, and signifies settlers or dwellers. Wilton and Somerton, though but petty places and dwarfed in later days by Salisbury and Taunton, were the meeting-places for the shire-motes up to a comparatively late date. There is a place called Devonbury in Devonshire, though we have no trace of its being at any time important enough to give its name to the shire. Therefore we have enough evidence to warrant the statement that after the conquest the Saxons first settled in villages, many of which they named after men, whether chieftains, or simply heads of families, and later they named the shire, or large group of villages, from the earliest and most central village. Each shire had its sub-king or alderman. The intermediate division between village and shire was the hundred. Hundreds of what, we may ask? Mr. Round would have it that they are hundreds of nothing, that the word had already lost its numerical value and simply meant a group, or some division. Yet there is no reason to reject the obvious explanation that they were hundreds of hides, and that the hide was the average holding of a family. In the days of *Domesday Book* some few hundreds actually comprised 100 hides, and a great many just a few hides over or under the exact 100, and it

is difficult to consider that this is a mere coincidence. Let us take it that such a subdivision of a shire included on a rough average ten villages of ten households each. But then we reach a second meaning of the word hide; it lost the idea of a family holding and came to mean a mere unit for taxation. As many centuries rolled by, the occupation of new lands which could be taxed and the rearrangements of taxation at intervals brought it about that in the year 1086 only a few hundreds contained exactly 100 hides. We have yet to ask, were the original Saxons all free and equal warriors? Common farming presupposes equality. Yet in every nation the difference between leader and led appears at an early date; if the sons of Kensa who gave their name to Kensington were equal, on the other hand the Beda who settled on the ford and named his village Bedford would seem to have been a chief. There was a tendency for ranks to be formed in Anglo-Saxon society before the Danes came. But the Danish wars created a strong dividing line between a military aristocracy and a population of mere tax-paying farmers.

Interest in Wessex, the land which afterwards produced Alfred, is such that one is tempted to neglect Northumbria and Mercia. The fortunes of smaller kingdoms need not delay us, for ultimately emerged these two large ones. The Northumbrians penetrated shortly after 600 to Chester, and won a decisive victory over the Welsh which matches the Saxon victory of Deorham. Then came the preaching of Paulinus and the conversion of King Edwin. In 634 Oswald decisively routed the Celt Cadwallon at Heavenfield near Hadrian's Wall. "Bamburgh, which is now a lonely village by the German Ocean, became the 'royal city,' the most strongly fortified abode of the most powerful king in Britain, the centre of a realm which stretched from the Humber to the Forth. The traveller who now visits this dethroned queen of Northumbria will see much that, however noble and picturesque, must be eliminated by an effort of the imagination if he would picture to himself the Bamburgh of King Oswald. The massive keep dates from the reign of Henry II; the great hall of the castle, ingeniously restored by a modern architect, was originally of the time of Edward I; some of the existing buildings were reared by a benevolent ecclesi-

astic in the reign of George III; but the natural features of the place are unchangeable, and in looking upon them we know that we behold the same scenes that met the eye of the conqueror of Cadwallon. Such is the rock itself, an upheaved mass of basalt upon whose black sides the tooth of time seems to gnaw in vain; such are the long sandy dunes which gather round its base; such the Inner and Outer Farne Islands, fragments of basalt rising out of the ocean at distances ranging from three to six miles from the castle; such the far-off peninsula, which when the tide flows becomes Holy Island; such the long range of Cheviot on the western horizon, snow-covered for many months of the year. Such, we might almost say, is the fierce wind which, from one quarter or another, seems for ever attacking the lonely fortress, and which assuredly battered the timbered palace of Oswald as it now batters the time-worn fortress of the Plantagenet." [1]

St. Columba, coming from Ireland, had founded his celebrated monastery at Iona, and others in Scotland. "These Columban monasteries, the 'family of Iona' as they were called, were of a distinctly different type from that of the monasteries of the Benedictine rule. Like all the Irish monastic establishments they partook largely of the tribal character. The tribe gave the land, contributed to the support of the monks, had a right to receive their religious ministrations. . . . These large monasteries were in reality Christian colonies, into which converts after being tonsured were brought under the name of monks." [2] Oswald had been brought up at Iona; before the battle of Heavenfield St. Columba had appeared to him in a vision. Now from Iona came Aidan, who preached Christianity according to a fashion different from that of Paulinus. "The island which was given to him by the King for his possession bore then and has borne intermittently ever since the name of Lindisfarne; but even at this day for once that its legal designation of Lindisfarne is mentioned, you shall hear it a thousand times called by the endearing appellation of Holy Island, given to it probably twelve centuries ago when it first received the imprint of Aidan's sandals. The beautiful ruins

[1] Dr. Hodgkin, Longmans' *Political History*, vol. i, pp. 153-4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148, quoting Skene.

of the Benedictine abbey, the parish church, the castle, built in the Commonwealth period, all belong to ages posterior to the time when it first became Holy Island; but here, as at Bamburgh, the natural features of the landscape are so unchanged that it requires but little effort of the imagination to enable the beholder to travel backward through the centuries to see Cuthbert praying among the sea-gulls, or Aidan slowly pacing the long spit of sand which lay between him and the palace of the King." [1]

Christian Northumbria had to fight against heathen Mercia and submit to much ravaging. Oswald's brother Oswy stemmed at last the tide, and at the Winwaed, "possibly the Went, a stream in the West Riding of Yorkshire," he beat and slew the notorious pagan Penda, "and with him fell the last hopes of English heathendom." Oswy's son Alchfrith mysteriously disappears from history, but is celebrated by the Bewcastle Cross. "There in the midst of a wide and desolate moor, as desolate perhaps as it was 1200 years ago, rises an obelisk 14½ feet high, once surmounted by a cross which has now disappeared, bearing in Runic letters the sacred name Gessus Christus . . . raised as a memorial of 'Alchfrith, son of Oswy, and aforetime King.'" The mystery "gives additional interest to the quaint but not ungraceful specimens of Anglian art with which the obelisk is enriched, to the flowing tracery of vine-leaves and grape-clusters, the birds and dogs, the figures of John the Baptist and Our Lord, and the standing figure of a man with a bird on his wrist, perhaps King Alchfrith himself." [2]

The study of Christian crosses and memorials stands by itself and requires special knowledge. In the north the Irish influence for good is clearly marked by them. It is enough to say that the now often faintly traced carvings show a wise missionary spirit; the old gods are not treated as false or unreal, but as conquered by Christ. An instance is the monument in Penrith churchyard which I had the honour to hear explained by Mr. Collingwood. On later crosses often scenes from Scandinavian mythology are depicted.

The features of an Irish church are, an aiseless nave very high and long in proportion to the width; a wall separating nave from chancel, and merely pierced by an arch; a lower

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 155. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

square chancel, contrasting with the rounded apse of the basilican type; doors and windows either square-headed or round-headed; no tower. To a mind not trained to architecture and unversed in the problems of building it is at least clear that the question of the support of a heavy roof was all-important. Wood was light, but would burn; stone required strong walls; hence the need of the chancel wall, which has also the effect of cutting off the laity from the priest. There are good instances of nearly perfect churches of an early date at Corbridge in Northumberland, at Monkwearmouth, and at Escomb near Bishop's Auckland in Durham. The insertion of some larger lancet windows of a later day does not spoil Escomb church, but alters it just slightly from its original appearance. It was built of stone from some neighbouring Roman settlement, presumably the station of Binchester, and marks of the Roman workmen are on the stones. To its solidness it owes its preservation, and it has been in constant use. A special feature of this early work is that the windows, whether square or round-headed, are singly splayed on the inside; that is, the window on the outside is flush with the face of the wall but opens wide into the interior. The walls, also, are plain.[1] These two features are lacking in the little church of Bradford-on-Avon in Somerset; otherwise it might be thought that here, too, is a very early Christian church, a southern church on a northern pattern.

The sons of the heathen Penda of Mercia, though wavering at times, came under the influence of the missionaries from the north. The monastery of St. Peter was founded at Medehamstede—a name forgotten in the modern Peterborough—under royal influence. Daughter monasteries were founded at Repton and Brixworth.

The Danish ravages were so thorough in the ninth century that hardly any trace of monasteries or churches was left; we mostly see, if any Anglo-Saxon work at all remains, the reconstructed buildings of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Therefore there is additional interest in such a church as that of Escomb and of Brixworth. But whereas Escomb survived through all troubles, Brixworth was partially wrecked by the Danes and twice reconstructed, and there-

[1] Baldwin Brown, *The Early Arts in England*, p. 110, etc.

fore is most difficult to describe in a few words. It requires careful study on the spot. The Kings of Mercia were under northern, i.e. Irish influence; St. Chad, once Bishop of York, became the Bishop of Lichfield, the great Mercian see. In Brixworth village has been discovered the base of a cross very like the "fishing-stone" of Gosforth in Cumberland. Yet the original monastery church of Brixworth was built not on the Irish plan, but on the Roman plan.

One sees now at Brixworth a wide nave and outer walls of brown ironstone built into and over round arches of Roman tiles; immediately one thinks that such arches led to aisles which have disappeared, but that would be wrong. The arches led to monks' cells, and what is now nave was originally both nave and aisles leading to a triple opening into the choir, while beyond the choir was a raised apse over a crypt. Not only the apse is approached by steps from the choir, and the choir by steps from the nave, but also each nave arch from east to west is higher than its neighbour. At the west end across the full width of nave and aisles, and separated from them by a wall pierced by an arch, was a narthex or entrance porch. The tiles of which both doorways and arches are made were taken from a neighbouring ruined Roman villa, but the mortar is poor and not Roman. Next, after the Danes had ruined the monastery and after this part of Mercia had been won back by the West Saxons, the land was taken by the King of Wessex; the monastery was not restored, but a parish church was built on the ruins. Over the narthex was erected a belfry, and against it an outer winding stair; the monks' cells were abandoned, and outside walls built over the arches with a higher row of windows above. The further off we are in date from Roman days, the worse is the imitation of Roman work; the pre-Danish construction nearest the ground is fairly good, the Saxon upper work is inferior beyond comparison and one would think that children had been playing at building arches with the tiles.[1]

We go back to the north country to Whitby. The convent of St. Hilda was the scene of the conference where the clergy of the Irish and those of the Roman way of thinking discussed the method of fixing Easter. Here again nothing

[1] Transactions of the *Associated Archæological Societies*, vol. xix; and information from the vicar, the Rev. A. K. Pavey.

Brixworth Church, Northants

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remains to remind us of these old days. The old convent was wrecked by the Danes; the ruins that we see are of a Benedictine house founded after the Norman Conquest and built in the Early English style. The associations of later Whitby are connected with the whale industry, and its queer houses where the oil was treated call up before us the romance of prosperous days before whaling ceased to pay, also the hatred felt by whalers against the press gang which tried to carry off protected men to serve in the royal navy, as related in that picturesque book, *Sylvia's Lovers*.

Mercia has neither the interest of Wessex nor that of Northumbria. It fought against both of them and was a bar to Anglo-Saxon unity. Offa was the most conspicuous Mercian king; he beat the West Saxons back to the Thames, overawed Kent, and rent several sees from Canterbury to attach them to his Archbishopric of Lichfield. He is said to have founded the first monastery of St. Alban's on the heights overhanging the deserted Roman Verulam, where legend has it that Alban was martyred. But his chief memorial is Offa's Dyke, a great barrier of some 130 miles with its ditch on its western side against the Welsh; he may have built on top of some older wall, but the dyke still bears his name and large portions of it remain. Canterbury regained the power of which Offa had bereft it, for Mercia felt most sorely the Danish peril and ceased to be a separate kingdom. The Kings of Wessex saved the country, and became Kings of England.

II.—Anglo-Saxons and Danes

The Danish wars cut right across Anglo-Saxon history. The heathen brutality, first of those who simply came to raid, then of those who stayed and conquered, left an enduring memory of the Red Terror. But one doubts very much if the Danes were more cruel than the earliest Saxon invaders. "If we admire the heroic defence of the Saxon king, we cannot forget that most of us who form the English nation have in our veins more than a little of the Viking blood. We owe our existence as much to one side as to the other, and it is a false patriotism and a mistaken view of history which asks us to give our sympathies exclusively

to either party in this struggle of a thousand years ago." [1] The word "Northmen" has been given to all invaders from Scandinavia, but we ought to make a distinction. The true Norwegians settled chiefly in the Orkneys and Shetlands, along the west coast of Scotland, on both sides of the Solway Firth, in Lancashire and in South Wales. The true Danes settled in our country between the Tyne and the Thames. The meaning of the word "Viking" is worth examining. The old derivation from *vik*, i.e. *wick*, a creek, seems to be now given up; it is thought that the verb *wigan* or *wigian*, which means "to fight," is the true derivation. A Viking, at any rate in the Scandinavian sagas, means any fighter or pirate of any nationality.[2]

With the mention of a Viking we immediately associate his ship. In a funeral cairn in Denmark at a place called Gokstad was discovered a ship that had been buried with some dead chieftain. She was 67 feet long in the keel and nearly 80 feet from stem to stern, of 17 feet beam, and about 4 feet depth amidships; she was clinker built in eight strakes, that is to say, eight planks overlapping each other, and fastened with nails and bolts and then made watertight; she had a mast stepped in a huge solid block, and sixteen oars to each side which passed out through rowlocks cut in the third strake; her oars were twenty feet long, and she was steered by a sort of big paddle or steering-board, which has given its name to our "starboard." It is calculated that she carried a crew of forty. Doubtless she was a typical ship. Other specimens have been found of similar dimensions, and the largest of these galleys, the *Long Serpent*, was 148 feet in keel and probably represents the pitch of perfection in Danish shipbuilding.[3] There have been finds in England of pieces of Danish ships in different rivers; one near Northiam in Sussex which tells us of a time when the River Rother was navigable for a very long way up, another in the Hamble in Hampshire, and a third in the Lea. A raft built upon similar lines has been uncovered in the bed of the Ancholme stream in Lincolnshire. Danish swords have been dredged up from the Thames.

[1] Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31. The late Prof. York Powell's Introduction.

Place-names naturally show where the Danes settled. The most common ending is *by*. There is a large group of *by*'s around Yarmouth for instance; in Leicestershire there are thirty-eight *by*'s out of 174 villages; the furthest inland are Naseby, Holmby, and Rugby. But there is a regular swarm of them in Lincolnshire, especially in the country behind Great Grimsby; on the other hand, in the neighbourhood of Boston there seem to have been hardly any Danish settlements. Mr. Collingwood says that a *by* was an isolated farmstead, whereas *thorp* indicates a village; but then *thorp* may be either Danish or Anglo-Saxon. Another well-known place-name is *wich*, which is a creek. The Danes used to meet at an assembly which was called a *Thing*, from which we get several names, as Thingow. Here the free warriors used to touch or clash together their weapons; hence the district where such meetings took place was called a *wapentake*. They apportioned out their lands, not by fives and tens of *hides* like the Anglo-Saxons, but by half-dozens and dozens of *carucates*. They seem to have had an inrooted dislike to the Saxon system of farming by common fields. To every man his own little farm was their ideal. It has been denied by several authorities that the *sokemen* were characteristically Danish, or that the *soke* was of Danish origin; but there is the undoubted fact that in 1086 the sokemen were most thickly settled in Danish districts, particularly Lincolnshire, where in William I's reign there still remained 11,500 of them. This fact, together with the inference that we have from the name *by*, seems to tell of a time of small freehold farms.[1]

Traces of genuine Danish camps are very rare. The terror of their name was quite sufficient to attach the word Danish to camps, for instance Danebury and Danes' Dykes. But very frequently they simply used camps which they found already traced out, for instance Bratton Castle in the celebrated campaign of 878. We shall come across just a few instances of genuine Danish camps in the account which follows.

When they ceased to raid and came to stay, they founded a great kingdom round York; next, to the south, were the

[1] Also Seebohm; especially his map, showing the distribution of sokemen.

five confederated boroughs of Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester; in Norfolk and Suffolk also they settled fairly thickly, but less thickly in Beds, Hunts, Cambs, Herts, and Essex. Perhaps it is in these latter counties that a study of the sokemen is most interesting, because in 1086 the largest number of them was to be found upon the eastern, i.e. the Danish side. For instance, there were 660 sokemen in Bedfordshire in the reign of Edward the Confessor and fully 600 of these on the eastern side of the county. But perhaps the most striking thing is the Danish custom of founding military centres. Besides the five boroughs they first made Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and other places, which as far as we can see were hitherto only villages, real fortresses with permanent garrisons, and the importance of this will be seen when we come to consider the Saxon reconquest of these districts.

The Danes occupied East Anglia and part of Northumbria, crushed Mercia, and threatened Wessex. The Angles and Saxons were doubtless more numerous, yet they cowered before the Danes, and called out to Heaven against the wicked invaders. The reason seems to be that in the course of four centuries, 450–850, the older race of pirates and spoilers had settled down on the land, preferred peaceful farming to fighting, and were converted to civilisation and Christianity. Thus they were no match for the newer race who were still in the stage of fierceness and heathendom. Yet south of the Thames the West Saxons could fight fiercely, when they were well led and were in defence of hearth and home. There is no need to accuse the West Saxons of slackness in allowing the Danes to conquer up to the Thames; Ethelred I crossed the river to help the Mercians but without success. Thus it was in their own country that they had to fight out the struggle. The first invasion came by sea, and Winchester was taken and sacked; the suggestion that Winchester had been neglected and its Roman wall allowed to decay is obvious. Then the West Saxon levy or *fyrd* was gathered and beat the invaders out. In 870 an army of Danes overpowered and slew Edmund of East Anglia, and he became the saint and martyr in whose honour rose at a later date at Beadoricesworth the abbey which changed the name of that village to St. Edmundsbury. The sack of the abbey of St. Peter at

Medehamstede followed. In the winter another army came south, and formed at Reading a base from which to attack Wessex. This was no raid, but a campaign to effect a permanent settlement by conquest. It was a hard task for the West Saxons, who were farmers and did not wish to leave their lands untilled; the *fyrd* or militia, a force of men engaged otherwise in peaceful works and at best only half trained, was at a disadvantage in fighting professional robbers, and the king's trained soldiers and thegns were probably but few. But "the year of battles" proved the grit of both West Saxons and Danes. I do not feel inclined to make apology for treating in detail this most momentous struggle.

The understanding of the campaign depends on a knowledge of the ground. Between the Kennet and the Thames, which meet at Reading, is the stretch of Berkshire Downs lying east and west and traversed by the Ridge Way; Ashdown is a general name given to the whole ridge. South of the Kennet is another and parallel ridge. The Danes wished to penetrate beyond into the heart of Wessex. They were at Reading in the January of 871, and moved towards the east end of Ashdown. It would seem that this was nothing more than an advanced body, for they were at once driven back by the Alderman of Berkshire. Then arrived King Ethelred and his younger brother Alfred with the main army of Wessex, and in their turn they attacked the Danish camp at Reading and were repulsed. A second time the Danes advanced and took up a position on Ashdown, but at what spot exactly no one can tell. Was it at the western end of the ridge, where the figure of a White Horse looks over the vale to which it has given its name; in fact are we to suppose that the White Horse was traced there by Saxons in honour of the fight? But in that case we should have to admit that Ethelred was to blame in allowing the Danes to traverse and plunder the greater part of Berkshire before he tried to stop them. Can it be that one of the hundreds of Berkshire received a peculiar name after the battle, "the hundred of the naked thorn tree," and may we not connect with this that the *Chronicle* tells how Alfred charged over bare ground marked only by a single thorn tree? In this case we can put the site much nearer to Reading. The mere

name Ashdown itself is no clue. We only know that first Alfred mounted a slope and charged the Danes uphill like a wild boar; then Ethelred's wing came into action, and must have been a powerful support to the younger brother when his wild-boar fury was being spent; it is unnecessary to sneer at Ethelred because he is said to have been praying while Alfred was fighting, because to keep back a reserve to rally the first line was good policy, yet all too rare in Saxon days. The Danes are said to have fallen by thousands, yet the Saxons were too exhausted to pursue.[1]

The defeated Danes were on the warpath a fortnight later, trying to work round the right flank of the Saxons up the Loddon by way of Basing; they would thus be able to penetrate straight to Winchester by the line of the present L. & S.W.R. Often enough we find the position of Basing of importance in a campaign, for overlooking the head of the valley of the Loddon it was a point of value to any one trying to reach Winchester from the Thames or vice versa. Ethelred and Alfred again attacked uphill about a mile north of Loyalty House, and the site is fixed by the number of bones that have been turned up. This time they were repulsed. But the Danes fell back once more upon Reading. In the account of this year of fighting we seem always to find that it is the victors who give way. Doubtless if we had the Danish version we should find that they had only sent an armed reconnaissance in force as far as Basing.

Two months passed by, and when the Danes again pushed west to the Ashdown ridge the Saxons gave up all this part of Berkshire, and fell back to hold the next ridge parallel to it and south of the Kennet. We can picture the Danes ravaging Berkshire at their will and moving westwards to see where best they could cross the Kennet, while the Saxons moved parallel and on their side. The fight took place at Marton just to the west of Inkpen Beacon, at which point the victor would have the way open either to Winchester or to Sarum. The Danes were routed. But Ethelred was slain and taken for burial to Wimborne; this fact alone

[1] Mr. W. H. Stevenson's notes to his edition of *Asser's Life of Alfred*, p. 234 onwards. An article by Rev. W. H. Simcox, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. i, p. 218; an article referred to by Dr. Hodgkin. Mr. Collingwood leaves the sites unidentified. For the white horse, see above, p. 40.

enables us to fix the site of the battle, for Merton in Surrey is clearly impossible, but from Marton through Sarum the way is open to Wimborne. A great "summer-host" reinforced the Danes, and Alfred began his reign with a defeat at Wilton. He was young, and he seems to have dashed to the attack as he did on Ashdown, driven in the Danes at his first charge, and then met with disaster when they rallied, for he had no reserve under Ethelred to rally him in turn when spent; it has been suggested that the Danes really practised their well-known manœuvre of a feigned retreat which William I afterwards employed at Hastings. Finally Alfred bought off the invaders. Nine battles had there been, three of them unrecorded. The two nations seem to have reversed their traditional rôles, for we find the Saxons showing the more dash and the Danes the more stubbornness.

We next hear of raids by sea upon Wareham and Exeter. Wareham lies between the Rivers Frome and Trent just before they meet to fall three miles lower down into Poole Harbour. There was no town at that date at Poole itself. On the opposite bank of the Frome, between its mouth and Wareham, are entrenchments which certainly seem to be genuine Danish camps, from which they had a view over the unlucky Saxon town which they pillaged. A little further to the east on Hengistbury Head are other entrenchments, which they may have used as a base from which to attack Christchurch. The story, of course from the Anglo-Saxon point of view, goes on to accuse the Danes of bad faith. Alfred came down in person to Wareham and most of the invaders withdrew towards Exeter, but finally agreed to evacuate the country. Therefore the attack made by Guthrum in 878 was in the nature of a surprise due to treachery.

Alfred retreated to the "Isle" of Athelney, not because he despaired, but because he had only a few men of Somerset with him; he hid himself while waiting for the levies of Wiltshire and Hampshire. This is a fair inference and is a matter of some importance. He was not overwhelmed and driven to the marshes as a last expedient. It was a temporary refuge when the Danes broke faith and surprised him. Athelney is a low ridge of rock rising out of what was then a wide expanse of morass which the sea invaded

at high tide. Now the tidal rivers Tone and Parret are shut in by artificial banks, the whole district is drained and intersected by dykes or rhines, such as the Bussex rhine which was fatal to Monmouth in 1685, barely five miles north of Athelney. Sedgemoor must not be confounded with Dartmoor and Exmoor; it is not a high land of tors, but would be even to-day a dreary fen if not protected by dams. The Quantocks and the Poldens bounding the morass are covered with pre-Roman remains, but Athelney has no associations except with Alfred. What matter if the story of the cakes and the irate old woman, or that of his penetrating in disguise as a minstrel into the Danish camp, be interpolations into the contemporary history? The whole district is eloquent of Alfred at the crisis of the fate of England. Had he been surprised, who could have led the Saxons to stem the tide? A mile from Athelney and beyond the main stream of the united Parret and Tone is a lofty rock, known as Alfred's Fort, or the "Mump," which is slightly terraced as if by lines of defence. Most people mistake it for Athelney itself as they see it from the railway. It is higher but smaller in circuit than Athelney. But, of course, Alfred utilised it as a look-out post. Three miles off in Newton Park was discovered the Alfred Jewel, a fine piece of enamel glazed with crystal and framed in filigree gold work. It bears the inscription "AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN," "Alfred me had worked." The lettering is Roman; the forms "mec" and "heht" are Mercian and not Saxon, but Alfred might have employed a goldsmith from Mercia. The enamelled figure which bears a sceptre in each hand is variously interpreted to be Our Saviour, or the pope, or some saint. The point ends in a socket, and a cross-pin shows that some thin rod was affixed; was the jewel a handle to a sort of book-pointer, or was the rod a handle to the jewel? That Alfred in the inscription is not called "King" is an argument that it was made before 878. Yet whether it was a tiny and costly sceptre of royalty, or a valuable book-pointer, at least we connect it with this Alfred and with his exciting six weeks at Athelney.[1] The drained and embanked fen-land is now fine pasture. Willows grow in plenty,

[1] Professor Earle, *The Alfred Jewel.* It is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The Mump; River Parret

Athelney; River Tone. Both rivers at low water and strongly embanked

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and Athelney is the centre of a flourishing industry of basket-making. Yet one calls up there the spirit of Alfred.

King Hubba, who had slain Edmund in East Anglia, making a diversion in alliance with Guthrum sailed to the coast of Devon from Wales. The men of Devon gathered to a camp at "Cynuit," made a sally, slew Hubba, and captured the "raven" standard. Attempts have been made to identify the place with Henniborough Camp near Bideford, and neighbouring earthworks are thought to be the Danish camp. But we are warned that "the name Kenwith has been foisted into the map" by the endeavours of a local antiquarian to create a tradition that the battle of "Cynuit" was fought there;[1] it is a good instance of "how not to do it."

In the seventh week Alfred slipped away from Athelney, and joined the forces of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, east of Selwood Forest, at "Egbright's Stone." They rejoiced to welcome him as if restored to life. His period of hiding at Athelney and watching the Danes had covered the time necessary for the concentration of this army. The men of Berkshire are not mentioned, a fact full of pathos, for in 871 they must have suffered frightfully, and their homes were doubtless desolate. Why Dorset is not mentioned is not clear; Devon had been in arms against Hubba. In a two days' march by way of "Æglea" Alfred reached "Ethandun." Can we identify the places? If the Somerset Edington is thought to be "Ethandun" we have to imagine that Alfred took the Danes by surprise, coming back near to Athelney before they knew that he had slipped away; but we cannot fit in places to suit "Egbright's Stone" and "Æglea," and it would be a very long two days' march from the east of Selwood to this Edington. But if we take "Egbright's Stone" to be a boundary stone near Penzelwood at a point where Dorset and Wiltshire and Somerset meet—there was a stone here which is marked on an old atlas, and it would be a good point of rendezvous—and if we put "Æglea" at Iley Oak or Ilegh near Warminster, we have two ordinary marches to the Wiltshire Edington; in this case Guthrum was coming from Somerset to meet Alfred. Moreover on the edge of the down above this Edington

[1] Stevenson's *Asser*, p. 262.

and visible from the G.W.R. is Bratton Castle, a doubly ramparted pre-Roman camp, which just suits the story; for when routed at "Ethandun," Guthrum fled to a camp. Below on the face of the down is the Westbury White Horse; we return to our old argument that experts argue that these horses are the work of old British tribes, yet it is at least a curious coincidence that two of them are found at possible sites of two of Alfred's victories.

Ashdown, Athelney, Edington,[1] can be seen from one or another line of the G.W.R. The railway engineer laid his metals as low as he could beneath the downs from Didcot to Swindon, and from Hungerford towards the watershed which he had to cross to reach Taunton. Saxons and Danes probably marched on the bare high ground, not on the country below, sticky and wooded doubtless in those days. Here we have a contrast between the motives which have led ancient generals and modern engineers from one place to another. But the result is that the most casual travellers can see the places sacred to the memory of Alfred, who at last stemmed the tide of pagan conquest. If one doubts that he fought near the Berkshire White Horse, at least one can see on travelling westwards from Didcot on one's left the royal village of Wantage where he was born, and on the right the royal village of Faringdon where he died; and near Westbury one has the other White Horse and Bratton Castle.

Alfred founded the monastery of Athelney in honour of the great deliverance. "John my mass priest" was the first abbot. It is apropos of this foundation that Asser, his biographer, describes the isle as entirely shut off from the outside except by water; also he says that Alfred made a bridge over the Parret and guarded it by a fort on either bank, one of them an *arx munitissima*, the natural mound or mump mentioned previously. Whether he means that Alfred built the bridge at the time when he lay *perdu*, or later for the benefit of the monks, cannot be decided. Not a stone remains of the monastery, but a memorial to Alfred has been put up on the edge of the island overlooking the Tone.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 266–77. Prof. Collingwood hesitates to identify Ethandun with either of the two Edingtons.

In 885 was arranged a treaty. The boundary line between Saxon and Dane was the Thames up to the Lea, the Lea to its source, an artificial line from its source to Bedford, the Ouse from Bedford up to Stony Stratford, and thence Watling Street. Thus London was on the Saxon side of the line, also the corner of South Beds which Alfred claimed by right of Cuthwulf's conquest 314 years earlier.

Having finished with Guthrum by this treaty Alfred had yet to fight a great deal against a certain Hasting or Hasten, who had previously been the terror of the French from the Bay of Biscay to Flanders, and who was much more of a raider than an invader come to settle. Traces of his great camp may still be seen at Shoeburyness; it had simply a large semicircular rampart of 2800 feet, leaving a stretch of open beach 1900 feet long. This was called a *sea-burgh*. Perhaps also he has left his traces in some slight earthworks at Appledore up the River Rother. On one occasion Alfred found that he had sailed up the River Lea, and seized the idea of blocking him up there by building two fortresses, one on either bank, and perhaps stretching a chain or boom across the river. Hasting's camp has been identified with the earthworks of Walbury. But he saved his army by abandoning his ships and went off by land.

With the experience that he had gained in war against both Guthrum and Hasting, Alfred proceeded to fortify convenient centres for military concentration and to reorganise the fyrd. There may be some doubt as to the original meaning of *bury*,[1] *burh*, or *burgh*. Badbury and Cadbury and the like are undoubted; they were Saxon names given to old prehistoric camps. But *burgh* seems to mean in the first place simply a residence, such as Aldermanbury and Bucklersbury in London, or the royal land of Aylesbury, which was first conquered in 571. But whatever were the earliest Saxon burghs, Alfred's burghs were towns; *urbs*, *civitas*, *oppidum*, is each translated as *burh*, and vice versa. Asser mentions the *castella* which Alfred ordered to be fortified but which were not completed, and undoubtedly this word is not to be taken as "castle" or "keep" in the more modern sense, but simply as a walled enclosure. Therefore the special meaning of *burgh* in Alfred's time was a

[1] The ending *byrig* which has become *bury* is the dative case.

central fortress occupied for the express purpose of resisting the Danes, and in fact Alfred had himself copied the idea from the Danes. It was a distinct step in Anglo-Saxon life when the towns had to be founded to help the villages and country districts. As regards the *fyrd*, Alfred introduced a new system of organisation: half the men were to farm, and the other half were to join the army when the King called them, except those who defended the burghs. This clearly shows that duty in the central fortresses was something special. To each burgh was apportioned a certain number of *hides*. This word need not trouble us; whatever its earlier meaning, a hide now was simply a unit of taxation; not a definite area of land, but just so much as should pay, let us say, two shillings when the King wanted money. The men who lived on the set of hides apportioned to a burgh had either to pay or to serve as the case might be. They had to keep up its walls, and rally to the assistance of or reinforce the garrison within the walls. We find from *Domesday Book* that the Anglo-Saxon landowners in a shire had mural houses; [1] or, to put it another way, the military aristocracy of the country had to maintain soldiers in the towns. The men of the garrison were called "knights," and we have to be most particular not to read into that word the meaning which afterwards attached to it as a chevalier. There were guilds of knights, particularly in London and at Cambridge, and certain strips of lands outside the walls were apportioned to them for their maintenance. Thus, when the *burgware* of London turned out to fight Hasting in 894, one can imagine that in the first place they were the townsmen in garrison doing military service, not mere apprentices and citizens serving as amateur volunteers, but more or less picked men, and, secondly, the men of Middlesex who rallied to the support of London. Middlesex is simply the number of hides apportioned to London; there never was a kingdom of Middle Saxons, but the name was given when Alfred beat back the Danes from the land in the middle between West and East Saxons.

From Asser's words we judge that Alfred was disappointed and that the work of walling the burghs did not proceed quickly. His policy was carried out by his son Edward the

[1] See below, p. 151.

Elder, and by his daughter Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians. The husband of Ethelfleda was Alderman of Mercia; he may have been of the blood royal of Offa, but Mercia was now no longer a kingdom, but a dependency of Wessex. Similarly the old independent kingdoms of Sussex and Kent became mere shires of Wessex.

We have three lists of burghs;[1] an incomplete but very instructive list of those south of the Thames with four to the north, and the date is thought to be about 912; a list taken from the *Chronicle* of those created by Ethelfleda in Mercia as she fought the Danes; a list of those created on the northern and eastern parts of Mercia and in the Danelagh itself by Edward the Elder. The first gives the following burghs together with the number of hides apportioned to each.

(Kent not given.)

Sussex:	Heorepeburan.	Hants:	Porchester.
	Hastings.		Southampton.
	Lewes.		Winchester.
	Burpham.		Twyneham.[2]
	Chichester.	Wilts:	Wilton.
Dorset:	Shaftesbury.		Tisbury.
	Wareham.		Malmesbury.
	Bridport.		Cricklade.
Devon:	Exeter.	Somerset:	Bath.
	Halwell.		Axbridge.
	Lidford.		Watchet.
	Pilton.		Lyng.
Surrey:	Southwark.		Langport.
	Eashing (near Godalming).	Berks:	Wallingford.

Also Oxford, Buckingham, Worcester, Warwick.

Here then we have the places which were of importance just 1000 years ago. Several never maintained their position; Guildford took the place of Eashing, Arundel of Burpham. The burghs of Devon and Somerset, if we except Exeter and Bath, are mere villages nowadays, but were doubtless

[1] Chadwick, *Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 205; and Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 183.

[2] Now Christchurch, at the junction of the Stour and Avon.

chosen as military centres then for good reasons. We miss Somerton from the list. Lyng and Langport lie on either side of Athelney marshes, and would seem to have been chosen because Athelney itself was already occupied by a monastery. Exeter is definitely mentioned as a burgh by the *Chronicle* in Alfred's reign, and Welshmen and Saxons lived there side by side in friendship and alliance until Athelstan turned the Welshmen out. The hill-top, the Rougemont, so called since Norman days from the red volcanic stone which was quarried *in situ*, certainly seems to have been occupied by a pre-Roman camp in full view of other camps in the neighbourhood, and the town which runs down-hill is Roman in outline. Both hill-top and town were re-fortified by the Normans, and expert authority cannot decide whether any remaining portion of the wall is or is not Roman rather than Norman. The natural situation is very strong, the hill is very lofty, and the sides of the town fall down towards the river along the edge of a steep slope on either hand; from the platform of the L. & S.W.R. you have to look up high to the old site of Exeter, and yet the railway is a good twenty feet above the bottom of the natural valley. Where there was a pre-Roman and a Roman settlement, and where the Normans rebuilt, we ask ourselves how much of the existing work can be Saxon. We know that they were not usually expert builders in solid stone. Yet a twelfth-century chronicler says that Athelstan built the walls of Exeter *lapide quadrato*; are we to believe him literally, or can we think that he knew of Athelstan's visit and jumped to the conclusion that the squared blocks of red stone were laid there first by Athelstan? The use of a Roman site by a Saxon king to be his burgh is exemplified at Chichester, Porchester, and Winchester,[1] presumably therefore at Exeter. At Porchester we are on firm ground; we know that Edward the Elder took over the old Roman fortification by exchange with the Bishop of Winchester. At Winchester itself we can hardly believe that the only line of defence was a mere hedge; we have already suggested that "hedge" is metaphorically used to denote the old Roman town-wall, even if it had been neglected and was too weak to keep out the Danes in 870. It can hardly be said that Winchester was

[1] But, curiously enough, Dorchester is not in our list.

unimportant before Alfred; one would imagine that like Southampton it was from the earliest days of Wessex a royal town, and Alfred's father Ethelwulf drew up there in 854 with much solemnity and ceremony in the presence of bishop and witan the deed of gift by which he conferred on the church a tenth of his lands. Yet only under Alfred did Winchester become the capital as well as a bishop's seat.

Wilton[1] is to be found near Sarum at the east end of a valley running right across the Wiltshire downs, and Tisbury towards the western end of the same. Therefore they guard the two entrances of what seems to be a main line of communication. The map shows various earthworks on the heights above Wilton, and a village near at hand is called Ditchhampton; similarly about Tisbury is a great ring which seems to be pre-Roman. It is quite possible that in some places Saxons took old British earthworks to form their burghs. Malmesbury at the source of the Avon lies not far from the Fosse Way, and Cricklade on the upper Isis guards the Silchester-Cirencester Roman road; therefore these two burghs were constituted as defences against a possible Danish incursion from the estuary of the Severn. Shaftesbury stands on a bluff, over 700 feet high, with a wide view over the whole compass on the border of Wilts and Dorset.

Wareham has been mentioned already as the chief port of Poole Harbour and liable to Danish attack. It is at the tip of a peninsula above the junction of the Trent with the Frome. Its ring of earthworks is to-day perfect upon three sides; the western wall measures 600 yards, the northern 650, and the eastern 530. It was quite an important place, and the right of minting money was granted by King Athelstan. In the days of *Domesday Book* it was the largest burgh in Dorset, considerably larger than Dorchester and Bridport, and slightly larger than Shaftesbury. There are extremely few Roman or pre-Roman remains found in the neighbourhood; the country of the "Great Heath" had apparently little attraction. Saxon Wareham owed its importance to its position on the river just before it falls into Poole Harbour. The appearance of its main streets crossing at right angles in the middle suggests Roman settlement, but

[1] See p. 107.

it is certainly not a Roman town but a Saxon. Whoever designed those streets had a model in Roman Dorchester, and a town is not necessarily Roman simply because its two main streets thus intersect. That the earthen walls are Saxon and not Norman is proved by the fact that a Saxon church stands upon the northern rampart.[1] On the western side alone the defence is weak by nature, but the depth of the ditch and the height of the wall are a strong natural defence. We see the place now as it was repaired and strengthened in the days of the Civil War. Wareham has always had an unhappy time; sacked by the Danes; sacked by the men of Poole, which in the thirteenth century rose as a new port on the opposite shore of the harbour, and was the bitter rival of the older port; sacked by both Royalists and Parliamentarians in the Civil War, as it lay between the royal garrison at Corfe Castle and the hotly Parliamentarian town of Poole.

Wallingford has a large area behind earthworks, and at one corner there is a great mound with triple ditches which break the earthworks as they approach the Thames. It is fairly clear that the Saxon burgh of Wallingford was defended by the outer ring only;[2] the mound and its ditches are intrusive, and may be confidently assigned to the Norman lord who also was responsible for the mound at Oxford. The extent of the area defended and the fact that this, the only burgh in Berkshire, is on the edge of the shire and not a central place of rendezvous speak to us in no uncertain way of the value of the ford. Similarly Oxford was a river-guarding burgh on the edge of its shire.

Of the two burghs in Surrey it may be said that their position illustrates what has always been the peculiar feature of Surrey. It is partly a country district, and partly a suburban annex of London. So it had appropriately a southern burgh just below the great ridge of down which we call the Hog's Back, which was deserted afterwards in favour of Guildford in the gap which the River Wey has cut through the ridge; and a burgh opposite to London which guarded

[1] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S., vol. xiv, J. G. N. Clift. Mr. Allcroft pronounces against Wareham being a burgh, but he had not got Professor Maitland's list.

[2] Mr. Chalkley Gould thought the earthworks to be pre-Roman, and utilised by the Saxons. *Berkshire* V.C.H.

the southern end of London Bridge. The story that on one occasion the Danes, wishing to row past London, cut a trench so as to circumvent the bridge has been thought by some authorities to be possibly true; the objection is that they would have had to dig not a short trench round the end of the bridge, but a very large one round the burgh of Southwark.

Burpham lay on the Arun a little above and opposite to Arundel. It was a very strong burgh, 800 yards long, of hour-glass shape and varying in width from 800 to 200 feet, at the tip of a low but steep spur close to the river. A great rampart of earth and a ditch cut across the spur, and on the other three sides the defence was a cliff on the one hand and a morass on the other. Here we have a strong fortified position utterly unlike any pre-Roman camp in Sussex; we have a list of burghs, and this one at Burpham is included; the inference is clear. When later on Arundel was fortified, Burpham was neglected, and thus the present church and village lying outside the rampart would seem to date from altogether a later period. As at Wareham, we see here quite clearly what a burgh really was, strong naturally, defended by art where necessary, planted so as to command a river, and therefore low down, defensible but not inaccessible.[1] To the east of the Arun in the valley of the Adur is Bramber, and it is tempting to suggest that it is the "Heorepeburan" of our list. It may not be wise to risk incurring the wrath of etymologists, but if "Hreopedune" has become Repton, may not "Heorepeburan" become Rember, then Brember[2] with an intrusive B from the sound of the last syllable? The number of hides apportioned to its upkeep was 324, and the number of Burpham 726, so that addition gives us the round number of 1050, and our list is all in favour of round numbers. Not only these two lie in adjacent valleys, but the Ouse valley next to the east also has its burgh at Lewes, and one would expect each river to be guarded, especially as the country seems to have been thickly populated. The area at Bramber is small, only 186 yards by 93, but the position is tremendously strong and the naturally steep slopes

[1] Mr. Allcroft argues that Burpham could only be Danish, but we repeat that he did not know of the list of burghs.

[2] Brembre is the *D.B.* spelling.

have been made steeper by art. It was afterwards a Norman stronghold, and we find that most of the Norman strongholds in Sussex were on older fortified sites.

There are no Kentish burghs in the list, but it is tolerably safe to assert that we can find one at Sandwich. The Jutes had deserted Richborough, and doubtless the sea was already receding from the foot of the cliff, leaving a flat stretch of coast through which the Stour twisted backwards and forwards. Therefore a new port was required here. That Sandwich was important before 1066 is seen in the fact that it was one of the original Cinque Ports, and its great earthen rampart, just like the fortifications of Wareham, proclaims it to be Saxon. Dover has a prominent place in the story of Earl Godwin. Hythe took the place of Lympne, and Romney was a new port since Roman days; therefore we are forced to conclude that the dykes which were built so as to convert the bay into Romney Marsh were the work of the Jutes. Though we do not usually think of either Jutes or Saxons as being good engineers, nevertheless they must have the credit of the feat of engineering which made the Roman naval station of Lympne to be two miles inland and necessitated new ports at Hythe and Romney. These Cinque Ports probably had their privileges, and perhaps were federated, before the Normans came. The sea has thrown up more shingle since those days, and there is now no haven to Hythe and Old Romney is a long way inland.

Ethelfleda's list includes Worcester and Warwick, which the previous list gave; Bridgenorth; Stafford; Chester; Eddisbury, close to Watling Street between Chester and Northwich; Tamworth; Runcorn; Monk's Kirby, east of Coventry; also three unidentified places. In four of these the Normans afterwards erected mounds and castles; rather let us say here, as this is the very point at issue, that Normans held these four towns, postponing to the next chapter the argument that they first erected mounds therein. The case of Eddisbury is of special interest because Mrs. Armitage insists that it was a typical Saxon burgh without any mound, but on the other side Mr. Davies Pryce gives a plan distinctly showing a mound in one corner. This question therefore has to be fought out between them, but the main argument is not really touched, namely that a Saxon burgh was simply

a town ringed in by earthworks, or in the case of Chester by the old Roman walls patched up. Chester had certainly been deserted, and it was the Danes who first since Roman days restored it.

A similar list of the burghs attributed by the *Chronicle* to Edward the Elder includes Hertford on either bank of the Lea; Buckingham on either bank of the Ouse; Bedford south of the Ouse, the older burgh on the north bank having been already fortified by the Danes; Stamford on either bank of the Welland; Nottingham on either bank of the Trent; Manchester; Towcester on Watling Street; Huntingdon; Colchester; Witham and Maldon, near each other on the Blackwater between Colchester and London. Here again we find places which were once Danish military centres converted to be Saxon burghs. We see how anxious Edward was to keep the Danes from penetrating up the rivers, for not only almost all these burghs guarded waterways, but also the fortification of each bank is noteworthy. The older burgh, which is probably the Danish fortress in each case, is to be found on one bank, and on the other simply a *tête de pont* or rather a *tête de gué*. The second burgh at Nottingham or at Hertford seems to have been insignificant. But the entrenchment south of the Ouse at Bedford enclosed a very considerable area; both rampart and ditch can still be seen, and the latter is yet called the King's Ditch. In many cases a mound still exists, and as in other cases may safely be considered to be Norman. At Maldon and at Witham the earthworks have been so destroyed by the plough or by railway engineering that they can barely be traced; each was over twenty acres, and there seem to be signs of an inner as well as an outer rampart, but not of a mound. Mr. Gould gives the measurements at Witham of the outer rampart 400 yards by 350, of the inner 200 by 175;[1] possibly the smaller was Danish, the larger Saxon. At Colchester we have already mentioned a small inner fortress, a Roman wall being embedded in a very lofty earthwork; as the Normans destroyed part of this earthwork to make their castle we can only put it down as either Danish or Saxon. The *Chronicle* definitely says that Edward erected a stone wall at Towcester; we have no choice but to accept the statement,

[1] *Essex* V.C.H.

but elsewhere we can see for ourselves that the Saxons did not build in stone.

To close the argument for the present, we see that Saxon burghs were in several cases old Roman towns, possibly in just a few cases pre-Roman camps, and elsewhere new earthworks. We can trace a reason why the site of each was chosen. We infer that the Danes first created military centres, for they certainly founded the "five boroughs"; Alfred copied them, though his *castella* were incomplete when he died; Edward and others continued the work as they conquered the Danes eastwards beyond his dividing line. The late Mr. George Clark by assuming that Saxon burghs were mounds committed himself to a theory that the Saxons fortified hundreds of places where there is no record that they built, and also ruled out other places which our lists definitely show to have been theirs.

Some of the events of the reign of Edward the Elder may be detailed, partly to illustrate the period, but also to give local colour. Ever since 885 Bedford had been a Danish frontier post. In 915 Edward advanced, and the jarl Thurkytel made submission together with the "hölds" or Danish landowners of the district; Thurkytel had had a garrison in the burgh. The King now built a new burgh on the south bank of the Ouse, enclosed by an earthen wall and fosse still traceable. Shortly afterwards Thurkytel and his men left the country and went to join the Northmen in France. The Danes further east grew restive, and concentrated a force at Huntingdon; this was not an invasion by newcomers from Denmark, but by the settled Danes of Huntingdon and Cambridge who wished to reconquer Bedford. The date is 921. They rowed up to Tempsford at the junction of the Ivel with the Ouse. Tempsford is Tamiseford in *Domesday Book*, and "Temps" is the Danish variant for "Thames" as the old name of the Ivel. There they "wrought a work," of which the inner citadel still stands, an oblong earthwork 120 feet by 84. Next they rowed to Willington; the *Chronicle* indeed does not tell us this, but at Willington is an obvious water-camp or "sea-burgh," a harbour being scooped out at right angles to the river, a ditch running from the head of the harbour to make two more sides of an enclosure, and the river being the fourth side; within is an

Danish water-camp, Willington; river beyond the fence

Wareham; Saxon Burgh

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inner citadel with a slightly raised mound at one angle as at Tempsford, and without is a further slight rampart, the whole capable of accommodating some 1500 men and twenty-five galleys; also two hollowed depressions seem to mark "nausts," i.e. slips, into which a galley could be hauled for repairs. Two miles up-stream and on the lofty opposite bank is a small ring of earthworks and a very wide ditch, a Danish outpost in full view of Willington for signalling purposes. The army now advanced on Bedford on foot by the north bank. The Saxon population had come in to defend the burgh, and in their turn advanced. A battle was fought on the site of what we now call Russell Park, for Saxon skeletons were discovered there, heads to west and feet to east in the Christian manner, together with swords and spears. The Saxons won, and pursued to where a bridge over a little tributary is still called "bloody battle bridge," and a great artificial pile called Risinghoe doubtless covers the remains of the Danish dead. A little later Saxon reinforcements arrived. The camp at Tempsford was stormed, and the Danish king and two jarls, his son and brother, were slain.

Such is the story in the *Chronicle*, supplemented by Mr. A. R. Goddard's knowledge of Danish lore which enabled him to recognise a Danish water-burgh in the works at Willington.[1] Not only that; he also saved it from being destroyed by the L. & N.W.R. It has been generally agreed by experts of learned societies who have visited the place that the plan is really that of a small water-burgh, absolutely unique in England, unlike Hasting's wider camp at Shoebury and better preserved, smaller and more compact, as suits a smaller expedition, but in outline resembling what the Saga tells of the sea-burgh and great harbour for 300 ships made by the Vikings on the isle of Wollin near Pomerania. The only point that is at all doubtful is whether the Willington camp as well as the Tempsford camp belongs to this year 921; it may have been constructed at the time of some similar but unrecorded Danish raid, say of the reign of Sweyn or Canute.

The rest of the story of 921 may be taken straight from the *Chronicle*. "In this year before Easter King Edward

[1] See the *Beds* V.C.H., and Allcroft, p. 386.

gave orders to proceed to Towcester (on Watling Street) and build the burgh. In the same summer the army (i.e. the Danes) broke the peace from Northampton and from Leicester and north from thence, and went to Towcester, and fought against the burgh a whole day, and thought that they should take it by storm; but nevertheless the people who were within defended it, until a greater force arrived; and they then abandoned the burgh and went away. . . . Very shortly after that a great body of people (i.e. Saxons) assembled in autumn, as well from Kent as from Surrey and Essex, and everywhere from the nearest burghs, and went to Colchester and beset the burgh and fought against it and reduced it. . . . Then after that yet in the same autumn a great army (Danes) assembled from the East Angles, both of the land army and of the Vikings whom they had allured to their aid, and thought that they might avenge their injuries. And they went to Maldon and beset the burgh, and fought against it, until there came greater aid to the burghers from without; and the army then abandoned the burgh and departed. And then the men from the burgh went out after them, and also those who had come to their aid from without, and put the army to flight and slew many hundreds of them, both of the æscmen (i.e. ash-men, ship-men, the Vikings from over the sea) and of the others (the settled Danes of East Anglia). Then King Edward with a force of West Saxons went to Passenham, and sat there while they surrounded the burgh of Towcester with a stone wall.[1] . . . And when that force went home, then another went out and reduced the burgh at Huntingdon, and repaired it and renovated it where it was before in a state of ruin, by order of King Edward; and all the folk that were there left of the peasantry submitted to King Edward, and sought his peace and his protection. Then again before Martinmas the King Edward with an army of West Saxons went to Colchester, and repaired and renovated the burgh. And all the army (i.e. Danes) in East Anglia swore unity with him, and the army which belonged to Cambridge chose him specially for their lord and protector."

Such is the plain, unvarnished tale of burghs built or repaired, and then garrisoned; of the men of the district

[1] ? renovated a Roman stone wall.

rallying when the Danes appeared; of distant levies from beyond the Thames organised in relays, half in arms, and half staying at home to farm, as Alfred arranged. The Saxons and Mercians could fight when they were well led, and doubtless they outnumbered the Danes. They were no longer fascinated by the red terror.

Some villages that we never find mentioned in the story of the Danish wars, and never expect to find mentioned, have earthworks round them which may be referred to this period. The burghs were founded by the kings; the villages of which we are speaking appear to have been defended by the people on their own initiative. Mr. Allcroft [1] quotes the cases of Hoggeston and Cublington, close to each other in Buckinghamshire. The inhabitants of Cublington migrated to a new site about the year 1400, deserting their earthworks which now stand solitary. There are several instances of fortified villages in Bedfordshire, Thurleigh which is completely entrenched, and Toddington where only parts of the earthworks remain.[2] In every county others can doubtless be discovered. Farming operations would soon destroy such slight defences in peaceful days, and dozens of villages may have had simple earthworks of which no trace remains. Of course, at any period the need of protection against wild beasts and outlaws may have caused elementary rough fortifications to be thrown up, yet that many places were walled like the central burghs against the Danes is a reasonable theory.

Athelstan carried on the work. The Kings of Wales and Scotland submitted to him, especially Constantine the Scot who "commended" himself and wrote himself as Ego Constantinus subregulus. But he broke his faith and made alliance with the Celtic population of Cumberland, and called in the Danes from Ireland. Athelstan won a great victory at Brunanburgh. Where are we to find this place? It is variously identified with Beverley in Yorkshire, Burnham in North Lincolnshire, and Bourne in South Lincolnshire, likely enough sites if the Danes came from Denmark to the Humber. A guess at a place in Devon seems quite out of court. There are earthworks of a camp of eight acres at Barrow Castles close to the Humber, where human bones

[1] pp. 397, 548. [2] *Beds* V.C.H., A. R. Goddard.

and skulls of horses and horseshoes have been dug up; more earthworks four miles off at Burnham; and a third camp at Castlethorpe of forty acres, where was found the Danish raft mentioned above. It is suggested that Athelstan marched by Erming Street, crossed the Ancholme by a Roman causeway, and took up his ground at Castlethorpe, thence advancing against the Danes and Constantine at Burnham.[1] The only objection is that Irish Danes coming to aid Scots and Cumbrians would not land from the Humber, and later chroniclers who say that they landed on the east side of England must have made a mistake. Brunswark near the Solway Firth, where an old Roman road ran past the Roman fort of Birrens (see chapter ii), is a more likely site. Danish settlements in this neighbourhood were fairly numerous, as shown by the place-names on both sides of the border, Middleby, Allonby, Netherby, Appleby, etc. Here we may put the scene of the grim fight celebrated by a war-song which Tennyson modernised, where[2]—

> "Seven strong earls of the army of Anlaf
> Fell on the war-field, numberless numbers,
> Shipmen and Scotsmen."

Edmund, Athelstan's brother, subdued the five burghs, Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester. Yet Ethelfleda had already taken Leicester, and Edward both Stamford and Nottingham. Evidently much war in which the Danes retaliated has passed unrecorded. But we must pass on with a bare mention of Dunstan and his connection with Glastonbury; of Edward the Martyr, murdered at Corfe Geat, probably the gate or gap where the line of the Purbeck Hills is broken, but certainly not the gate of Corfe Castle which did not then exist;[3] of the Unready Ethelred who let in the Danes again, and made a system of levying a land-tax or danegeld with which to buy them off; of

[1] Rev. Alfred Hunt in Proceedings of the *Associated Archæological Societies* for 1905.

[2] Hodgkin, pp. 334, etc. Mr. Collingwood refers to the many suggested identifications and decides for none.

[3] Edred, Edward the Martyr's great-uncle, gave seven "manses" in Purbeck to a certain woman, who was probably the Abbess of Shaftesbury. William I made an exchange with the abbess of his day so as to obtain a site for a castle. Putting the two facts together, we may be certain that there was no Corfe Castle when Edward was murdered.

Canute and his new institution, the bodyguard of house-carls, paid by similar levies of danegeld which was thus converted into a tax to maintain a small Danish army.

Four of Ethelfleda's burghs and five of Edward's gave their names to shires. It is not certain that either Ethelfleda or Edward actually created shires ; the shiring may have been the work of any of his descendants, of Athelstan or of Edgar, but this method of subdivision was certainly the result of his and her conquests. The system of naming shires from an important central place had been adopted by the West Saxons in the earlier period at each step of their expansion. Now we see a similar and natural grouping of villages around important burghs which the Danes had first made military centres. Probably also at the same time the subdivision by hundreds was arranged. It is not a little remarkable that the two counties from which Mr. Round worked out his theory that a hide was simply a unit of land for the assessment of danegeld, namely, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire, are on the debatable land between Dane and Saxon. Whoever was the king who shired these districts made more or less artificial groups of villages to form hundreds, and of hundreds to form the shires. When danegeld was imposed the sheriff would demand " 100 × 2s." from each hundred, and the officials of the hundred would demand " 5 or 10 or 20 × 2s. from the villages assessed at five or ten or twenty hides. That these round numbers and multiples of five are not absolutely constant, although they are very common, would be due to subsequent rearrangement, and thus in *Domesday Book* not every hundred has exactly 100 hides ; similarly not every village, but a great many villages in these very shires, which were shired only a comparatively short time before the Norman Conquest, are in *Domesday Book* found to be assessed at multiples of five hides. The shires not named from central burghs are the old independent kingdoms, East Anglia split into Norfolk and Suffolk, and Essex, also Middlesex which ought to be Londonshire.

During the century before Hastings the King's thegns, and the earls who were instituted by Canute, became very strong. In *Domesday Book* we find that the King, the King's thegns, and the earls, held between them most of the land of England. This state of affairs came about because the

bulk of the Anglo-Saxon population, preferring to farm rather than to perform their military duties as free warriors, had lost the art of war and had let the Danes in.[1] The idea of Alfred had been to organise the fyrd, so that half the men should serve in the King's war and half should farm. But it is clear from Asser's *Life* that he was disappointed by the slowness of progress in the nation. No doubt the rustic population, the churls and boors, descendants of old free warriors but without their fighting power, were so unreliable in war that the kings were forced to make use of the services of their special soldiers and companions, the thegns and gesiths; it is difficult to determine the original distinction between these two sets of men, and at any rate the word gesith died out, and thegn remains. Let us imagine Edward the Elder or Athelstan driving out the Danes from some district. He claims the land by right of reconquest; he allows the churls and boors to keep a proportion, let us say three-fourths, of the strips in the open fields; but over the village he plants his faithful thegn, who will do military service with his picked men, while the churls and boors plough the remaining one-fourth of the strips for his benefit. The moral is that men who shirk their military duties drift imperceptibly into semi-serfdom. Thus the King's thegns, and the earls when Canute created them, became a military aristocracy. This was not all done at once, but came about gradually during the 150 years between Alfred and the Confessor. We see the results in *Domesday Book*, and infer how the thegns rose and the churls sank.

Meanwhile there were still good men who were willing and capable of doing their duty. Over them no superior lord was imposed, and the churl who retained five hides of land on such conditions could claim to be considered a thegn, though he was not the King's thegn and was not summoned to the meeting of the Witan. In some cases in 1066 we find that there were little groups of two or three, or it may be five, thegns banded together to hold freely five hides. There were still plenty of independent small freeholders, genuine *liberi homines*, and sokemen, especially on the Danish side of England. But the sokemen, though personally free to sell their land, usually had to attach themselves to some great

[1] See above, p. 129.

man in the neighbourhood. The formula in *Domesday Book* varies, and some could sell freely and go to another lord, some could not sell without the lord's consent, and so on. Though the subject is a very difficult one, one is inclined to accept the theory that these lesser thegns and freemen and sokemen paid their danegeld, when it was imposed, to the sheriff of their particular shire, whereas the churls and boors paid theirs at the hall of the King's thegn to whom they were subject, and who passed it on to the sheriff.

Thegns have three duties, to fight in the fyrd, to defend the burghs, and to keep up the bridges. With their retainers and picked men ready at their call they served in place of, rather than at the head of, the fyrd. As to the burghs, we know from *Domesday Book* that they planted some of their men within the walls as a permanent garrison. For instance, at Wallingford there were 276 closes, "and they who dwelt in them used to do service for the King with horses, or by water, as far as Blewbury, Reading, Sutton, or Bensington, and to those who did this service the reeve gave hire." This was the "carrying service" for the King. But doubtless the same men were reckoned as in garrison, and we know from the details of the *Berkshire D.B.* which landowners of the shire—and indeed also of the neighbouring parts of Oxfordshire—had to keep up the closes. In the shire outside Wallingford, "if the King were sending an army anywhere, only one *miles* went out from each five hides, and for his provision or pay four shillings for two months was given him for each hide of the five." *Miles* does not stand for the King's thegn, but for the retainer of the King's thegn or his "man."

There is thus another development. *Domesday Book* shows that the King's thegns have "men"; also the earls have their "men," their "thegns," their "house-carls." These would be the under-officers, the lieutenants who would raise the contingents for war. When we have such a picture of a military aristocracy in the reign of the Confessor, we can say that a feudal system was growing up in England before the Conqueror came, being formed by natural process as the few great men came to absorb the duties of the bulk of the population. It was not originally an aristocracy of blood. No one knew the pedigree of Godwin or Leofric or Siward. Yet there was a tendency towards hereditary right,

and when military aristocrats have hereditary rights and their own "men" or "house-carls," the King's power is lessened in proportion. The state of Anglo-Saxon England in 1066 can be best appreciated by any student when he can get at an analysis of the *D.B.* record of his own neighbourhood, or, better still, make his own analysis. He could then see what proportion of the land was held by King, earls, King's thegns, and their "men," and what proportion by lesser thegns, freemen, sokemen, on the eve of William's coming; what proportion of arable land the churls and boors have to farm for the great man of their village, and what proportion for themselves. To do this it will be necessary to assume that, when William turned out the lord and put in a Norman baron, the proportion of churls' land to lord's land remained the same.

We also see from *Domesday Book* that each earl and King's thegn held land in several shires of England, and not only that, but also in several parts of the same shire. The reason is doubtless twofold; the great man could journey from one village to another and be maintained at each by the churls over whom he was lord, also acting as judge over them in connection with their petty disputes; secondly he would be able to raise a force for the defence of the country at the King's call wherever an enemy might be expected, from his East Anglian lands if the Danes threatened to land from the Wash, from his southern lands if from Southampton Water.

The residence of a lord is his hall, where he would exercise his rights of jurisdiction, and to which the churls and boors would bring their share of danegeld. The hall corresponds to the chief residence of the "lord of the manor" in Norman days. Indeed, the word *aula* was still used by the Normans, just as *mansio* previously by the Saxons. We read in the *Domesday* of Sussex that "there were then two halls in what is now one manor." Then by very natural process the Norman word *manor* would be taken from the house to indicate the estate round the house.[1] Undoubtedly the subject bristles with difficulties, but at least we have a working theory as to the meaning of the word and as to the growth of manorial rights. The building itself was probably a timber

[1] Mr. L. F. Salzmann, *Sussex* V.C.H. And for all this section see Professor Maitland's *Domesday and Beyond*, passim.

house. One often hears it said that a genuine Saxon hall is still to be seen here or there, for instance, at Appledram near Chichester. But of Saxon domestic architecture we know nothing.

In just a few places some of the more powerful Saxons may have built "castles" of the type which was beginning to become popular in Normandy during the years before the Conquest. It will be more suitable to discuss the question in the next chapter. But in general it is clear that the thegns did not need to throw up personal strongholds; they were not lords whose duty was to keep down the population, but they had to defend and to rally the population against invaders from the outside. Therefore the small personal fortress was not needed so much as the large central burgh. Earl Harold of Wessex constructed a castle of some sort at Dover; Earl Edwin of Mercia had a hall at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, where a mound-and-court castle still remains.[1] If any other mound be really Saxon it must at least be attributed to the few years before 1066, when Norman ideas were already beginning to spread in England.

On the other hand we have a great many specimens of late Saxon church architecture. Canute, converted to Christianity and reigning as a reformed character, built where he once destroyed. The ravages of the earlier Danish terror were in many places made good. Yet often where an Anglo-Saxon monastery had been destroyed only a parish church was built in the period of restoration, as at Repton and Brixworth.

The Roman style of church architecture was modified and developed into the Romanesque. A special feature is the Campanile, a high and slender bell-tower. But the chief characteristics of the late Saxon architecture are supposed to have been derived, not so much from the Romanesque of Italy, but from the style which took root in Germany east of the Rhine. However, the derivation is not so important as a study of the characteristics themselves. Irish and Roman influence did not altogether die out, but were dying. Over 150 churches were built in the century before Hastings,

[1] It is wrong to argue that because one Saxon hall was of the mound-and-court type all halls were of that type. But the opposite argument is not necessarily right, that all mounds are Norman, and that therefore Edwin's hall disappeared before this mound was thrown up.

in which some trace of Saxon work remains to-day. *Domesday Book* shows that other churches then stood of which not a vestige remains. Chance has preserved some. Specially strong work has saved some. But very few indeed are perfect. Most of the 150 have only a portion, usually the tower, intact. It is only possible to show here some special features, so that a student who has some Saxon work in his neighbourhood may know with what other churches to compare it.

It is often thought, and strongly asserted, that a church tower was designed primarily as a place for defence or refuge as in the days of the Danish peril.[1] Certainly the very high and thin Irish " round towers " were for refuge ; also on the wild border of Scotland churches seem adapted for defence and suggest something in common with peles. But the Saxon towers are *belfries*—let us take this word in its modern meaning as a structure to hold bells, even if derived from *beffroi*, which means a military tower. Our eyes are led at once to the bell-openings as the conspicuous feature, the tower itself being as it were built up to the bells ; the architect simply designed a permanent scaffold, to house the bells which would sound the call to worship or the signal that the Host had been elevated. There is nothing military in these openings. Other little openings in the fabric are not loopholes for arrows, but mere slits to let in air, small because of the need to keep the tower strong. Saxon bell-openings are usually double, two arches with a " baluster " shaft between, i.e. a dwarf pillar ; or it may be three or more arches and several balusters. But villagers would be exceedingly dull folk if they did not use their belfries to spy out raiders. Moreover, the right of sanctuary made every church a place of refuge. Some towers are straight, some have stories each narrower than the one below. The angles are worked in a peculiar manner, stones being laid alternately horizontal and upright, and this is called Saxon *long-and-short work*. Next we see the decorations. *Arcading* gives the effect of a pattern to an otherwise blank surface ; *pilaster* strips, formed by thin stones, run up the wall and seem to be buttresses, though really adding little to strength. The main fabric of the tower is not of solid stone, but rubble and cement have been worked into place

[1] Baldwin Brown, p. 305. For the rest of this chapter, of course, I refer to the professor passim.

between the stone scaffolding. Not all late Saxon churches have towers. Of the very many which do exist most are at the west end ; a few divide chancel and nave, or form the point of intersection of a cross.

The Roman basilican plan at this period was dying out. In place of nave and aisles, there was often a nave narrower than the tower, so that the long-and-short work of the angles of the tower projected. Except where there was a central tower, a wall separated nave and chancel, as in the early Irish period, and was pierced with a rather small chancel arch, so that the effect is as if the laity were shut off from the altar. The rounded apse was rare in this period, and the square-ended chancel was more usual. The *windows* were *doubly splayed* and round-headed ; the window itself small and in the middle of the wall, and the opening widening both outwards and inwards so as to give more light.

The work varies in different churches. One should remember what was said before, that only portions of Saxon churches remain, just those portions that were strong and needed not to be renewed. At Greenstead in Essex the nave walls are of wood. At Bradford we see stones carefully matched and fitted, at Earl's Barton uneven and roughly put together. Here is an arch neatly built with a keystone, there a mass of stone is roughly chipped by a hatchet till a round barrel appears, which is not an arch at all in the strict sense.

The church at Wing, in Buckinghamshire, near Leighton Buzzard, is externally disappointing, because of the big later windows, yet some fine Saxon arcading is seen. Internally it is completely basilican, nave and aisles leading to a many-sided apse, and below the apse is a crypt with an ambulatory or passage round it. The devout used to descend by stairs to the ambulatory, and through some opening view whatever relic was inside. The crypt at Repton is reached from similar stairs and is supported by columns, an unusual feature in Saxon architecture ; but the chancel and crypt are square-ended. The Danes had destroyed the old monastery at Repton, and the new building was a parish church.

At Worth, in north Sussex, is a church perfectly apsidal and cruciform, but with no central tower. The cross is formed

by two transepts projecting north and south from the nave, near the chancel wall. Walls, pierced by arches, separate nave from transepts and chancel. The outside is decorated by pilaster strips, and by a horizontal course of projecting stones, called a "string course." The general effect, in spite of modern restoration, is charming in its proportions and lines. Then we go to Deerhurst in Gloucestershire and see what was a monastic church, the walls of the apse destroyed, but otherwise on the same plan as Worth, but with a western tower. Elsewhere we are shown similar plans, nave, transepts, but square-ended chancel. We only want the central tower to be erected where the transepts branch off, and then we shall have the complete cruciform church. St. Mary's in Dover Castle is completely cruciform.

At Bradford-on-Avon there is a high nave, square chancel, and a north transept—the southern one being destroyed—which is little more than a large porch, and which connects with the middle of the nave; therefore in this instance the cruciform shape is not suggested. Except for the loss of the south porch, Bradford church is perfect. Some authorities think that it is the original "little church" built by St. Aldhelm about 700 in the reign of Ine. He was pupil of an Irish cleric, Maelduib, or Mailduf, who was the only Scot known to have settled in Wessex, and who founded Malmesbury Abbey. Therefore the likeness of Bradford church to that at Escomb would show Irish influence, and one would expect an early date. But the arcading on the walls, the pilaster strips, and doubly splayed windows, point to a later period. There is nothing to prevent us from supposing that it was built on the plan of St. Aldhelm's original church, say a couple of centuries later, but with the decorations of its own time. In the Middle Ages it was used as a charnel-house, was desecrated, and used later for habitation. The late Canon Jones recognised that here was a church. It was saved, cleared, repaired, and is now used for service.

The church of Barton-on-Humber has a fine tower with arcading and pilaster strips, and a western adjunct. This seems quite unusual. But investigation has shown that the western adjunct and space below the tower constituted the original nave, and that there once existed a similar adjunct on the east side, which was the chancel.

Bosham, well known to artists, has a special interest for us, because Harold here took ship for his momentous pleasure cruise which brought him into the power of William. Just behind Bosham church a little stream is dammed to form a moat, and here it is suggested was the hall of Harold and of his father Godwin before him. There are also associations with Canute, and it may be here that he ordered the tide to stop flowing. The Saxon tower at Bosham is not beautiful, and a bit of modern restoration is terrible. At Sompting, further west in Sussex, is a Saxon tower with a queer pyramidal top. A feature in a great many towers is an occasional little window or air-slit with an acutely angled head; this is formed as if the architect did not care to take the trouble to make a round-headed window, but simply put two slabs to lean together. Such openings are very common. There is one made of Roman tiles in Trinity church in Colchester. At Steventon, a Bedfordshire village, the lower half of the tower is late Saxon, with a doorway and two doubly splayed windows, the work being rough and inartistic to a degree. *Domesday Book* shows us that a Saxon thegn had his chief residence here; he was Adelold, "of Stiventone," and the local addition to a name is only given to an important thegn. Clapham, another Bedfordshire village, belonged to the abbey of Ramsay, and supplied the monks with provisions for their refectory; but Brixtric, a thegn, held the land, presumably to do the military duties on behalf of the monks. The church tower is of Saxon work, very plain and solid, but durable, such as a rich abbey could afford to build. These two places are mentioned here, not because of the beauty or interest of the architecture, for these are conspicuous by their absence, but because we have a personal touch, knowing from *D.B.* who had to do with both village and church.

The tower most frequently figured in text-books is that of Earl's Barton, between Northampton and Wellingborough, on the brow of a ridge well above the Nen. The whole church is well worthy of study, but only the tower is Saxon. The long-and-short work at the angles is very prominent. The doorway is not at all symmetrical, the stones on either side do not match, and the vaulting is formed by stones chipped into a round barrel shaped by a hatchet. There are four stories narrowing to the top, and horizontal stones at each

floor have the pleasing effect of preventing the eye from being vexed by the long vertical strips of stone which run up the face. The bell-openings on all four sides are large, with several arches and several baluster shafts, of a different pattern on each side. Indeed, the chief charm of the whole tower is that no regularity and stiffness spoils it; each bit of stone is inserted at the whim of the architect who had orders to build up a scaffold to hold bells, but who was determined to let his fancy play over the details. From the rough unmatched stones of the door to the quaint designs on the face of each side, everything seems effective and freakish. We shall return to this church because there is much interest in the rest of the architecture, and it is worth knowing for the Norman and Decorated details. But the Saxon tower will always be the chief attraction. Professor Baldwin Brown dates Earl's Barton at about 950, whereas the Lincolnshire group of Saxon towers are about 1050 and of a style which survived the Conquest.

CHAPTER IV

NORMAN ENGLAND

Let us continue the train of thought suggested in the last chapter, and lay hold of our thread by a brief recapitulation. The problem of Anglo-Saxon history is to determine how the descendants of the fierce warriors of A.D. 500 were so completely cowed by the Danes before Alfred gave them new vigour, were again cowed by Sweyn and Canute, and finally conquered at one blow by Norman William. The phrase "pirates turned farmers" explains the difficulty. When King Ine of Wessex, A.D. 700, laid down the rule that the free men who wished to shirk their military duties must pay those who could and would fight for them, that is the King himself and his "men" and followers, this was a distinct step towards the creation of an inferior class. The West Saxons showed indeed wild-boar courage under Alfred, yet his system that one half of the freemen should fight and the other half should farm could not be maintained. The burghs had to be defended by special soldiers. Between the days of Alfred and the Confessor fighting was more and more the duty of professional soldiers, while the bulk of the people degenerated more and more and became mere farmers. The next step was when Canute formed a very big body-guard or a small permanent army—call it which you will—of house-carls. It is clear that the safety and unity of England depended upon the gift of leadership of the kings of the House of Alfred. Ethelred the Unready let in Sweyn and Canute, and even Edmund Ironside was unable to drive Canute out, though he raised army after army; clearly there was not enough good fighting material from which to recruit when the professional soldiers were worsted. Under the Confessor, when jealousy between the great earls was added to the lack of a national system of defence, England was doomed.

Domesday Book gives us the exact state of affairs that

existed in the year 1065 T.R.E., *Tempore Regis Edwardi*, when Edward the Confessor was King. In Norman eyes Harold was only a usurper. In every shire the King had his "ancient" royal land, dating, probably, from the very earliest conquest of each district; for instance, Old Windsor, Wantage, Faringdon, Winchester, Aylesbury, Luton. Next much land had been bestowed upon the Church, and there was a distinct tendency for each abbot and bishop to pass on his military duties to some professional soldier. At the head of the aristocracy were the earls, who had their own house-carls, their thegns, their "men," as if they were themselves underkings and the King's rivals. But most of the land was held by the King's thegns, and usually each of them held in various parts of England and in various parts of the same county. Their duty was threefold, to fight, to defend the burghs, and to keep up bridges. Below them were lesser thegns, sometimes little groups of two or four or six lesser thegns, ready to do service for five hides of land, over whom no superior lord was imposed. Below them again were very many sokemen and freemen, mostly in the eastern or Danish counties, and very probably mostly of Danish blood; also in the border counties between the east and the midlands such men are to be found settled upon the eastern or Danish side; it is difficult to think that such a coincidence could be only accidental. At the bottom of the scale were the mass of the Anglo-Saxons, the churls and boors, free in theory and farming in common, yet having to maintain their lords whether earls or thegns from a certain proportion of the common strips, and probably mere taxpayers assessed for danegeld. Therefore, when Harold required an army he relied first upon his house-carls, professional soldiers, instituted originally by a Dane, armed with great Danish battle-axes, and, according to one chronicler's definite statement, recruited from Denmark itself; and secondly on those earls and thegns who were loyal.

Imagine a typical village in the south-east in the late summer of 1066. The thegn has his picked men quite ready, and marches off with them to Sussex at Harold's call. But William is slow in coming. Harold disbands part of his army through lack of victuals, and his fleet is scattered. News comes of the landing of Tostig and of the other Harold.

So he dashes north with the house-carls, and our thegn doubtless hastens with him, leading such men as he is able to keep together, and takes his share of the fighting at Stamford Bridge. Back Harold has to come to Sussex to face William, and back comes the thegn, recruiting more men if he can from any of the villages over which he has power. Naturally the brunt of the fighting at Hastings falls on the house-carls and the contingents of the thegns of the shires nearest to Sussex. We have now to account for the completeness of the collapse after Hastings. It is not only that there is nobody left who can lead after Harold has fallen, but also most of the fighting thegns have been wiped out at the one stroke, or at least the survivors are quite unable to collect a new army. If national defence falls upon a few professionals, the defeat of the first fighting line means national surrender. The villagers who have remained at home hear of the victory in Yorkshire and of the defeat in Sussex. They are without leaders, and wait to see what will happen. If they live in the home counties they probably receive a visit from some detachment of Normans fairly soon, as William makes his march up the Thames valley to Wallingford and round by Berkhampstead,[1] so as to descend on London from the north. The lands suffer as the Normans pass through; for, even if they do not wish to devastate wantonly the very lands which they have come to conquer as their own, they at least have to feed themselves. In the case of villages lying further away the Normans arrive the next year or the year after. But sooner or later comes a foreign lord with a squadron of mailed men, who says that the King has given him the land of the dead or the dispossessed thegn, that the churls are to obey him—but he calls them by a new name that they do not at first understand, namely, villeins or bordars—that they are to maintain him, and had better set to work at once to dig a deep ditch in the middle of the village, throwing up the earth inwards so as to form a mound, to tread down the earth tight, and to run a wooden palisade round the top. There

[1] The argument in favour of Great Berkhampstead is that it lies in the natural track through the gap in the Chilterns, to which William would naturally pass as he came from Wallingford by the Icknield Way. The argument in favour of Little Berkhampstead is that in *D.B.* his march can be traced by the record of damage done through Bucks and South Beds into North Herts.

he will sleep safe at night. And they had better not try to murder secretly any of his followers, for if a corpse should be found, and if they cannot prove that it is the corpse of a Saxon, they will all have to suffer.

The state of affairs immediately after the Conquest has been most admirably sketched for us by Mr. Fletcher, and his imaginary village, Tubney, has become quite famous. I would suggest that the best plan for every student is to take some village in his own neighbourhood which he knows well, read the *Domesday Book* extract concerning it, and compare what he finds there with the state of affairs at Tubney. Before Hastings the thegn held a certain proportion —one-fourth or one-third, as the case might be—of the village strips of land which the churls and boors cultivated for his benefit; the other two-thirds or three-fourths they worked for themselves in common. Now immediately after Hastings William's task was quite simple. He had nothing to do but to place one of his followers, Frenchman or Norman, upon that portion of the land which the thegn used to have, even as he placed himself upon Harold's throne. It is not a question of justice or injustice; indeed, most modern writers, without arguing the justification of William's conduct, acknowledge that the Norman Conquest was a very good thing for England, giving a new race of leaders, active and clever, even if often stern and cruel. But what we want to see here is that William had merely to substitute one set of lords for another set. In theory there was no immediate change excepting in name. The stretch of land is now a *manor*; the new Norman master is *Lord of the Manor*; the strips cultivated previously for the thegn's benefit are now the Norman's *demesne*. The churls and boors, renamed *villeins* and *bordars*, cultivate their set of strips just as before. But, owing to the character of these new lords, foreigners, conquerors, self-assertive and masterful, there was a very great change in practice. The visible sign of the new rule was the *manor court*, where the lord judged his villeins. Imperceptibly, perhaps against William's wish, the rights of the old thegns over their churls were changed into the much stricter rights of the manorial Norman lords over their villeins. It was not till the reign of Henry II that the King began to interfere systematically with the private jurisdiction of his barons.

Another point is that, as the earls and thegns had had their bits of land scattered widely all over England, so were the lands of the new barons as a general rule scattered widely. William did not plan this system by some deep and dark design, wishing to weaken his barons by splitting their powers, but he found the system ready to hand.

Let us now take four or five villages, because, if Tubney be taken as the only possible kind of Saxon village under Norman rule, students are liable to miss one of the chief points of the Conquest. There is no rigid type. A village may be co-extensive with a manor, or may contain two manors, or several plots of land. I have chosen Bedfordshire villages which I know so as to avoid writing too much at second hand.

Niel d'Aubigny—his Norman home was at Saint Martin d'Aubigny, near Coutances, and the modern name is Daubeny—holds 4 hides of land in Cainhoe which Alfric, a thegn of King Edward, held; $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides are in demesne, and thereon Niel has two plough teams. On the other $1\frac{1}{4}$ hides three villeins have two teams, and there are three bordars and five serfs; there is woodland for 100 pigs. Another hide at Cainhoe is held independently, but evidently Niel alone has a manor court there. Very considerable earthworks remain—a great mound and a horseshoe court which, doubtless very soon after Hastings, Niel made his new villeins and bordars and serfs throw up as a rough and ready fortress, and on which, behind a timber palisade, he might live without care. Here was his *hall* where he held his manor court. Here too was *the head of his barony*, the centre of all the scattered manors in four counties which together made up the *honour* or *barony* of Cainhoe. Alongside, at Clophill, where his manor is the whole village, he holds another 5 hides; two lesser thegns, the men of Earl Tostig, used to hold T.R.E.; 3 hides are in demesne and two plough teams thereon; on the other 2 hides five villeins have six teams, and there are also four bordars and one serf, and woodland for 100 pigs. Notice that Cainhoe and Clophill are quite thinly populated, but the villeins are extremely well off, and own in common a large number of oxen. Two plough teams, divided amongst three villeins and three bordars, would mean half a team to each villein and half a team shared

by all the bordars ; six teams amongst five villeins and four bordars would mean a whole team to each villein and a team to the four bordars. Eight oxen went to the team, i.e. four yokes tandem.

At Harrowden Niel holds 6 hides which T.R.E. fourteen sokemen held freely. This is an interesting entry. The free sokemen have sunk in the social scale as the result of the Norman Conquest. Instead of cultivating each man his own little plot of ground in perfect freedom, not only have they to hand over to Niel $1\frac{5}{8}$ hides as his demesne, but on the other $4\frac{3}{8}$ hides they have to farm in strips in common as despised villeins. Though they have a half-team of oxen each, they have obviously descended in the scale. In the whole of the county of Bedfordshire there were T.R.E. 660 sokemen ; T.R.W. there only remain 100. It is by these small freemen that the yoke of the Norman is most felt. Churls converted into villeins cannot have suffered to anything like the same extent as sokemen converted into villeins.

For the whole of his barony—about 120 hides in all in four counties—Niel owed to King William the service of twenty-five *milites* or *knights*. We have no information at all from *Domesday Book* as to the details of knight-service, for it was simply the register of land for the purpose of the land-tax. The army book, the *Liber Feodorum*, is not extant now, but there was such a book compiled from word of mouth information by the county sheriffs in Henry II's reign. " How many knights," Henry asked, " did your ancestor owe to my ancestor ? " " Twenty-five," answered the Daubeny of that day, " is the number that I have always heard mentioned." Notice that in this case it works out at nearly one knight to every five hides of land, but in very few cases is there such a proportion between knights and hides. William, probably by word of mouth, arranged a round number : " I expect 25 knights from you ; 50 from you ; 100 from you ; according as you are medium or great barons." By *miles*, or knight, he meant a typical horseman of the period, mounted and armed and armoured as at Hastings, as indeed we see him in the Bayeux Tapestry, not the *chevalier*, or knight of later history, who was a far superior person, dubbed and wearing gilded spurs. This consideration is important. If William I had called out the full levy of all the barons of England, he would

have had an army of some 6000 horse or a trifle more. If Edward III raised 6000 dubbed knights—he never did, but suppose he did—he would have had a total of 24,000 in all, for every *chevalier* was then attended to battle by at least three common horsemen. To put it shortly, William's knight was a common horseman and Edward's knight a superior horseman. Therefore do not multiply William's, but multiply Edward's.

Geoffrey de Trailly holds Yelden as sub-tenant of a Norman cleric, the Bishop of Coutances; Trailly is in Normandy, near Coutances. There are 10 hides; four plough-teams on the demesne; eleven plough-teams worked by seventeen villeins, twelve bordars, and one serf. There is also one knight—it is very rare for *Domesday Book* even to mention knights. Probably the eleven teams would be divided—one to the knight, 8½ amongst the seventeen villeins, one and a half to the twelve bordars. There is a mound castle at Yelden and a very large horseshoe court. Geoffrey owed the service of one knight to his feudal chief. In later days this bit of land passed to the earldom of Gloucester, later again the great family of Clare got the earldom and the village of Yelden with it. The combined lands of Clare and Gloucester in the thirteenth century were responsible for 455 knights. Therefore our little village was then but a tiny unit of the greatest barony in England.

At Odell Walter the Fleming holds five and five-twelfths hides which Leofnoth held T.R.E.; and Ernulf, sub-tenant of Eustace of Boulogne, holds four and seven-twelfths hides which Alwold held. In this instance we see that two thegns divided the land in Saxon times, and therefore, when William apportioned the land to Walter and Ernulf, he was making no new artificial distinction. Walter's manor was known as Great Odell, Ernulf's as Little Odell. Walter had the better position, and threw up his mound castle upon the bank of the Ouse. In later days one of his descendants added a stone castle, and there now stands a fine country house. If any further explanation be required as to what a village of 10 hides means, it is only necessary to say that, when William levied a stiff danegeld at six shillings on the hide, £3 in all were due; Walter was responsible for £1 12s. 6d., Ernulf for £1 7s. 6d. Walter received also all Leofnoth's lands in Bed-

fordshire and Northamptonshire, and a few plots of ground elsewhere, making a gross total of about 115 hides. For the whole barony he owed the service of thirty knights.

At Thurleigh Walter the Fleming had three and a half hides, and put in his brother[1] Hugh as sub-tenant of three. A bargain was made between them which held good for their descendants for a long time. Of the thirty knights Hugh was to supply ten, and this is a good instance of a barony where the number of knights bore no proportion to the number of hides. A mound and deep encircling ditch exist at Thurleigh, but if there ever was an outer court it has disappeared. The rest of the village land was shared by five small sub-tenants, one of them a priest. But the mound was obviously Hugh's and his descendants called themselves "of the Leigh." Meanwhile a Leofnoth, and we may fairly suppose him to be the same Leofnoth lately the lord of more than 100 hides, held one poor solitary hide in a Northants village as Walter's sub-tenant. Lant, Leofnoth's "man," had four and three-quarters hides T.R.E.; we find his widow and sons starving T.R.W. on the three-quarters only, existing on the king's charity and unable to keep an ox-team. The misery and fall from a high estate of these dispossessed Saxons could not be more eloquently expressed than in the bare *D.B.* statements. There must be many similar cases for students to find.

Let us put these villages in tabular form.

Cainhoe : head of a barony :

	Hides		*T.R.E.*
Niel d'Aubigny, tenant-in-chief ...	4	..	Alfric, the King's Thegn.
Turstin, sub-tenant of Azelina	1	..	Ulfric, a sokeman.
	—		
Clophill :	5		
Niel d'Aubigny	5	..	Two thegns of Tostig.

[1] This is a guess, but a justifiable guess. The lands of Walter and Hugh, and of a second Walter who seems to have been their uncle, were connected for some centuries. I would also refer to this village as a typical case where local knowledge outweighs an expert's knowledge; both Canon Isaac Taylor and Mr. Skeat derive the name as from Thor, but it is pronounced Thŭrlēigh, and in Latin or French documents it is always Lalega, La Lee, La Leigh, i.e. The Lea. Thor's Lea would become Thūrlĕy, like Thūrsdăy.

	Hides	T.R.E.
Harrowden :		
Niel d'Aubigny	6 ..	Fourteen sokemen.
Yelden : in barony of Coutances, later of Gloucester :		
Geoffrey of Trailly, sub-tenant ...	10 ..	Borred, the King's Thegn.
Odell : head of a barony :		
Walter the Fleming	$5\frac{5}{12}$ ..	Leofnoth, the King's Thegn.
Ernulf, sub-tenant of Eustace of Boulogne	$4\frac{7}{12}$ ..	Alwold, the King's Thegn.
	10	
Thurleigh :		
Hugh, sub-tenant of Walter Fleming	3 ..	Leofnoth.
Raynald ,, ,, ,,	$\frac{1}{2}$ ..	Leofnoth's "man."
Richard ,, ,, Robert d'Oyley	$\frac{1}{2}$ ..	Oviet.
A priest ,, ,, ,,	$\frac{1}{4}$ ..	A priest.
Leviet ,, ,, Hugh Beauchamp	$\frac{1}{2}$ ..	Queen Edith's "man."
Leofric ,, ,, Miles Crispin	$\frac{1}{4}$ ..	Leofric, being the "man" of Brixtric, the King's Thegn.
	5	

Notice the round numbers, the fractions of hides fitting in neatly so that the villages could be assessed for the land-tax by fives and tens. Notice that each bit of land is T.R.W. apportioned as it was T.R.E., and that out of the twelve who held T.R.E. only one still holds T.R.W., but under a new lord. Notice also the various ranks of the dispossessed Saxons, from which one sees that there was already a feudal system T.R.E. But the chief value of a comparison of the six villages is to show that there is no one rigid type ; manor and village are co-extensive only in two instances. We have in *Domesday Book* a guide to the old conditions of rural life, intensely fascinating, difficult to understand in all its details, yet giving clear information as to who were turned out and

who were settled in by King William. We can read about Tubney, and with the *D.B.* extracts in hand go out into the country and study many varieties of Tubney. Certainly we shall not find everywhere a mound and an old church. But, where we do find them, we shall probably see the church in the middle ; the mound and court, or else the country house or the farm which is now on its site, on one side ; the cottages, which now take the place of the villeins' huts, on the other, and a parsonage somewhere at hand; perhaps a dovecot of thirteenth or fourteenth century work where was the old Norman dovecot ; a water-mill, or the place where once was the water-mill, which is mentioned in *D.B.* together with the number of eels that had to be paid in rent ; and, around, the fields now shut in, but then open and divided into strips.

It may perhaps surprise some people that the dovecot occupies so important a place in a manor. Some of the later dovecots are very large, and are to be found even in quite out-of-the-way places. The reason of their importance is that there was no possibility of keeping store-cattle alive through the winter months, as " winter feed " had not been invented. We have to wait till the eighteenth century before we find turnips systematically cultivated in rotation with wheat so that cattle could be kept alive through the winter. In earlier days therefore only the plough-teams and a few animals for breeding were saved, and fed probably at considerable expense, while all the other beasts were killed and salted. In the ruins of Basing Castle, for instance, there is a brine-pit where the salted carcases were stored. Therefore the birds were most valuable, and when men were sick of eating salt meat they could regale themselves on fresh pigeons.

A word about ox-teams. Oxen are draught animals in particular in all Oriental countries, also often enough in France and in many other parts of the Continent, to the present day. In England the use of oxen gradually died out. Just a century ago the Rev. Arthur Young, the celebrated traveller who has given us so much information about the state of France before the French Revolution, drew up a report upon the conditions of farming in Sussex. His account shows that a plough-team of eight oxen was customary there. He himself, being an East Anglian, was very much prejudiced in favour

of the horse. The arguments in favour of using oxen are that they are comparatively cheap, that they are exceedingly strong and of great endurance, likewise steady and able to start either a plough or a waggon without a jerk ; the manure is also valuable. But the chief advantage is that the oxen have double value. Having done their spell of some years of ploughing, they can be sold for butcher's meat of quite a fine quality ; therefore they pay for their keep. Young oxen have to be constantly trained to keep up the supply, and the custom both was and is to put a yoke of young beasts between two experienced yokes, and then they soon learn their work. On the other hand, they have no pace. It is simply impossible to force extra work out of the oxen, for if over-pushed they at once sicken and lose weight. The consequence is that horses have been more and more used, even in Sussex, and nowadays there are no ox-teams to be seen anywhere except just on three or four hill-farms where the soil is light ; no farmer would now dream of using oxen on the heavy clay. Modern conditions of farming, the introduction of machinery and of chemical manures, besides difficulties in connection with finding farm-hands, have driven out the oxen, even from most hill-farms. One farmer, who used oxen up to a recent date, writes of his extreme regret that " our dear old ox-teams have had to go." But another who farms on the Downs between Lewes and Brighton, and a third near Seaford, write that they still keep up the old method. Mr. Gorringe uses a team of six oxen to a double-furrow plough which he says that they can draw with ease, for there is never a question of their strength, but only of their pace. He uses a team of eight for rolling, and their tread is very beneficial to the land.[1] The animals used are of the South Welsh breed. It is this general disappearance of ox-teams that prevents us from realising fully the old Saxon village life as continued into Norman days.

There are mound-and-court castles of many different types. The mound—called in Norman-French *motte*—may be round or oval, flat on top, or hollowed slightly or hog's-backed, and it may be partly natural or wholly artificial. In most cases it is surrounded by a deep ditch fed by the village stream, for the wet moat is characteristically Norman.

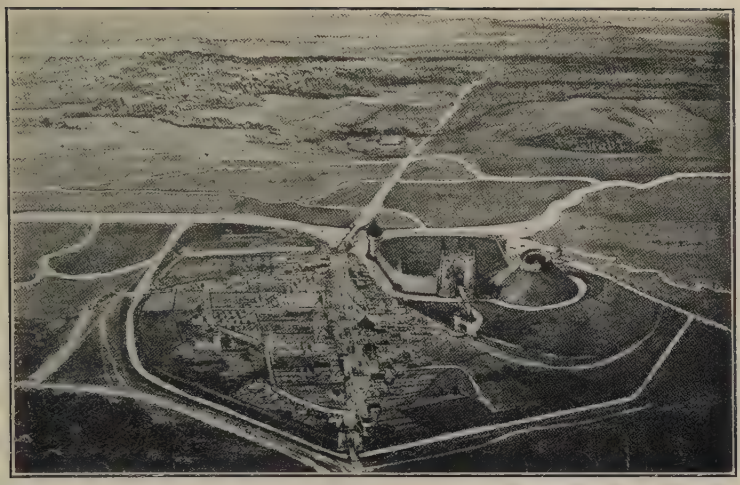
[1] Information kindly supplied by letter.

When we see an isolated mound, it may be that ploughing has obliterated the outer court, or perhaps indeed there never was an outer court. Yet we must be careful; if we find far out in the country, miles from any village ancient or modern, an isolated mound, it is unlikely in the extreme that it could ever have been a Norman castle; it may be an old beacon and signalling station, or perhaps a great funeral pile where some unknown battle took place.[1] The outer court, or *bailey*, may also be of any shape, horseshoe, semicircle, oval, or even rectangle, according to the lie of the ground. We need not slavishly call every bit of rectangular earthwork Roman; for instance, Mr. Allcroft makes special reference, and quite rightly, to the long oblong second bailey at Totternhoe, in south Beds, as Norman and not Roman. The mound here and two baileys are on the tip of a spur which projects over a plain, giving a fine view over the Vale of Aylesbury. Pre-Roman tribes, and the Romans themselves if they had need, must have used the knoll as a look-out post from which to signal to Maiden Bower in the rear; but that the rectangular second court is Norman[2] is quite clear. Here we get another fact, viz. that often two or even three courts are attached to a mound. Usually the mound is at the base of the court or courts, sometimes on the weakest and sometimes on the strongest side; or perhaps the mound is just inside the ring of the stone Roman or the earthen Saxon ramparts of a burgh which the Norman baron found already existing. The baron's residence would be on the mound behind a wooden palisade, overlooking both the village and the huts of his own retainers and servants who lived in the court. The moat of the mound usually runs into an outer moat encircling the court.

I have assumed so far that these mounds and courts are Norman. They swarm all over England and, if our arguments were to be taken from England only, it might be thought that they are Saxon. The question requires argument rather than

[1] An instance is Risinghoe near Bedford on the Ouse; probably also "Clifford's Hill" on the Nen down-stream from Northampton.

[2] I should not be prepared to say that this second bailey at Totternhoe is not even Plantagenet; it was at any rate tacked on to the mound and the first bailey after the original occupation. Mr. Worthington Smith, the historian of Dunstable, used to call it a Roman camp, but I understand that he has revised his judgment.



Tonbridge Town, Kent; by permission of Mr. Beauchamp Wadmore. Mound and two baileys, with 13th century stone additions, and walled town

Corfe Castle on a natural hill in a gap in the downs; The Great Heath of Dorset in foreground

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bald assertion, and we may take up the train of thought from the previous chapter. The late Mr. George Clark asserted, and some writers still cling to his theory, that the mounds were Saxon burghs. On the other hand Mr. Round and Mrs. Armitage have given many reasons for their Norman origin. Ordericus Vitalis, a chronicler born in Shropshire a generation after Hastings, definitely tells us that the Saxons had had but very few of those fortresses "which the Normans call castles." The contemporary Anglo-Saxon chronicler of Peterborough bemoaned the fate of his country, being held down by the cruel conquerors who built castles. It is impossible to suppose that within a few years after Hastings all these cruel castles were of solid stone, or that enough material and stone-masons capable of using it could be speedily got together, let alone the fact that William would have wanted both stone and masons for himself; moreover, we have at the same date the building of cathedrals and abbey-churches which required great numbers of workmen. Mounds could be quickly thrown up by the villeins and quickly palisaded for Norman residence. We have already said that *motte* is a Norman word. Mounds are very common indeed in Normandy; there exist more than fifty within a radius of sixty miles from Caen. They are also to be found in Denmark. The Bayeux Tapestry shows us how Normans erected wooden palisades on mounds—for instance, at Hastings before the battle. They are very numerous, not only along the Welsh border, but also in Wales, often at long distances from the border on land which the Saxons certainly never occupied and in all probability never even trod; likewise in Ireland where Strongbow and his Norman companions and their successors settled a century after Hastings. Then as regards size, few mounds and courts cover a considerable area. They are for the most part small and compact, admirable defences for a Norman lord, his family and retainers, quite strong enough to defy a rising of ill-armed and undisciplined villeins, but much too small and too weak for the protection of a whole district against a raiding army of Danes.[1]

Did then the Saxons of the two centuries before Hastings

[1] Mr. Round; *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendix O; and *Archæologia*, vol. lviii. Mrs. Armitage; *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xxxiv; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April and July, 1904, and October, 1905.

have no fortifications ? Certainly they had strongholds ; but in the last chapter has been already discussed the question of their burghs which sometimes are translated by *castella ;* they were towns surrounded by earthworks or by the old Roman walls which survived, large enough to be centres of national rally, not small personal strongholds. The earls and the King's Thegns of the reigns of Canute and the Confessor, even self-assertive earls, such as Godwin and his sons, or thegns responsible for a hundred or two of hides, like Leofnoth, had no personal castles. We find, indeed, that Harold built a castle at Dover, but the curious point is that at Dover there is no *motte* at all. In Herefordshire a certain Richard fitz Scrob had a mound castle which was later known as Richard's Castle, and Osbern Pentecost had a similar one at Ewias Harold, both in the reign of the Confessor. Robert fitz Wymarc had a castle to the north of London whither fled some Normans in 1052 when worsted by Godwin, and, sure enough, there is a great mound at Clavering in Essex where this Robert had land ; at Rayleigh, also in Essex, Robert's son Sweyn had T.R.W. a mound castle, but the father never possessed any land there ; so that we have fairly close to each other an instance of a pre-Hastings and a post-Hastings mound of the same family. Now Richard, Osbern, and Robert belonged all three of them to that pre-Hastings "conquest" which began under Edward the Confessor; they were Norman favourites of Edward, the vanguard or forerunners of the Conqueror's men, and naturally they built in a Norman style. We also have the instance of Earl Edwin's hall at Laughton-en-le-Morthen near Doncaster ; here is a mound and court, with traces of a second court which apparently takes in the churchyard and encloses a church in which some Saxon work remains. At Duffield in Derbyshire the Norman keep was built on a mound which excavation has proved to be Saxon, because some Saxon articles were discovered close to the surface ; similar pre-Norman remains have been found in a mound at Burton-in-Lonsdale.[1] Mr. Round acknowledges that in all these places, also at Barwick-in-Elmet and at Towcester, such earthworks are Anglo-Saxon.

[1] Article by Mr. T. Davies Pryce in the *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S., xii. He quotes from Dr. Cox who has written in the *Derbyshire* V.H.C. for Duffield, and from Mr. Gould for Laughton.

But the list of exceptions is quite short, and it remains that all of these strongholds may have been thrown up, and most of them certainly were thrown up, in the few years before Hastings.

Mr. Pryce's article in favour of a pre-Hastings origin of at least a few mounds is temperate and suggestive. He argues that no nation has a monopoly of such earthworks, not even the Normans. A mound is an elementary type of fortress, and instances are to be seen in non-Norman parts of France, in Hungary, in Bosnia, with outer courts of just the same pattern as in Normandy. Others occur in parts of Ireland and Wales out of the track of Normans as well as of Saxons; to this Mrs. Armitage makes reply that nobody can tell whether Normans did, or did not, penetrate into distant parts of Ireland and Wales where there is no record of their presence. However, Mr. Pryce's summing up is sound; the vast majority of mounds must be Norman, but probably the exceptions are more numerous than might be thought. The argument that Saxon thegns had no need to erect small personal strongholds cannot be disproved. Their duty was to defend the nearest walled burghs, and we remember that many of the Anglo-Saxon burghs, Porchester, Exeter, Burpham, Witham, Maldon, South Bedford, had no mounds. On the other hand such burghs as Lewes, Chichester, Wallingford, Hertford, North Bedford, and very many others have mounds, but were after 1066 either royal towns or the seats of powerful lords, so that the balance of probability is clearly in favour of the theory that such mounds were Norman and were thrown up inside or astride of the wall of Anglo-Saxon non-mounded burghs.

A good method is to look at the *Domesday* entries which concern the manors of which the mounds remain. If it be found that the tenant or tenants T.R.E. were unimportant people, but that the Norman baron was a great man, this is conclusive that the work is Norman. Mrs. Armitage gives forty cases, and in thirty-six at least the mound *must* have been thrown up by Normans, because the Saxons who were dispossessed were of quite low rank. It is only a specialist who can afford the time to study exhaustively county by county the whole list of mound castles. In Bedfordshire there are about a score, and almost each one *may*, according

to such evidence, have been the seat of a thegn or of a baron; Cainhoe Castle of Alfric or of d'Aubigny; those at Odell, Thurleigh, Ridgmont, and Totternhoe, of Leofnoth or of Walter the Fleming; the unique double mound at Eaton Socon of Ulmar or of Eudo the Steward; and the entries concerning Yelden, Flitwick, Toddington, Chalgrave, Tilsworth, and others, show that the landowner T.R.E. was at least of fairly high rank. But in many counties, in Shropshire and Herefordshire, in Devon, Northants, Bucks, and Essex, at least several mounds *must* be Norman, for the tenants T.R.E. were unimportant. We can take the case of Eddisbury, about which Mr. Pryce and Mrs. Armitage are at variance as to whether there ever was a mound there or not. On turning to *Domesday Book* we find that Godwin, a freeman, held the land T.R.E., and he certainly would not have had a castle; when the Earl of Chester received the place, and also when *D.B.* was drawn up, the land was "waste"; clearly then the mound, if ever there was one, was not only post-Hastings, but also post-*Domesday*.

A difficult case, which requires special treatment, is that of Earl's Barton. Lying in the shadow of the famous Saxon belfry is a small mound with a moat on one side; towards the church on the other side not only has the moat disappeared but the mound has been cut away. If we were to reconstruct this little fortress so as to make a symmetrical oval, the outer lip of the ditch would just avoid the foot of the belfry. Can we then imagine that the Norman lord of the manor, who in this case was the Lady Judith, William's niece, could be so mad as to build her wooden hall on such a mound within range of a lofty bell-tower? Surely any villeins who wished to revolt would have but to seize the tower and from it hurl down firebrands. We find that the tenant T.R.E. was a certain Bondi,[1] who held not only Barton, but also three neighbouring villages which "pertained" to Barton, with *sac* and *soc*; that is, he had the right of jurisdiction over four villages of which Barton was chief, and therefore was an important man. Therefore the mound may have been his,

[1] Bondi is a Danish name and means "yeoman," in rank below a *jarl* and a *hôld*. The word becoming a personal name two hundred years after the Danish invasion would seem to show a man rising above the degree of his ancestors.

whether thrown up by himself or by some predecessor. However, a Norman solution is possible. If a court were attached to the mound it would conveniently take in the whole of the present churchyard, the outer moat running where now are a farm lane and a deeply sunken road. In that case we can picture Judith enclosing the old church within the area of her new fortress, with the mound on the side most liable to attack. On no other assumption can one explain a Norman mound erected in so absurd a position. Norman church and Norman mound are often near together, but nowhere so very close ; and in such cases the church is usually of later date than the mound.

Let us wind up our arguments upon this head. We do not want special pleading such as makes the adversary, the modern Gallio who cares naught for history or antiquities, to jeer and rejoice. We want just a broad generalisation that the vast majority of mound castles are Norman. Then we have a picture of " New Men and Old Acres," and the mounds speak to us of a settlement of foreigners after a conquest. But to try to force every instance to fit the general rule is not scholarly. We can spare to the pre-Hastings advocates a few mounds and courts. Human nature and human needs are much the same in every age, and it would be hard to imagine any period in which some men at least did not throw up mounds of earth.

So far we have merely considered the ordinary village fortresses of Normans of medium or minor importance. But even the greatest barons, even King William himself, built their earliest castles of timber on mounds ; as suggested before, it would be difficult to imagine a sufficient quantity of stone quickly available or a sufficient number of stone-masons able to build some eighty keeps between Hastings and the year of the survey for *Domesday Book*. Fifty are mentioned in *D.B.*, and a good many more were in existence in 1086, and on almost every site a mound castle is known to have preceded the stone castle which we may now see.

In Kent a great deal of land was conferred upon Odo of Bayeux, a famous warrior bishop and half-brother of William I. It is a doubtful point whether he was Earl Palatine of Kent, or was merely styled Palatinus because he acted as viceroy when William was absent in Normandy. The

name was given to such earls as had special rights and privileges; whether William granted such rights deliberately, or whether in course of time the powers grew until a special title was bestowed by way of recognition, is immaterial; the derivation—"the companion of the King's palace"—is equally immaterial, for it was a mere title introduced from Europe to indicate unusual power such as other earls in England did not enjoy.[1] At any rate Odo's palatine rights over Kent did not last long, for he was arrested and stripped of his power by William I, and at any rate being a cleric could not pass the title on to a family. As a typical Kent castle, let us take the wrongly named Cæsar's Camp near Folkestone. The earthworks may have been designed by William of Arques, sub-tenant of Odo, but the stonework, of which fragments have been found by excavators, was of later date. The castle stands high and dominates a wide stretch of valley, besides having a good view out to sea. Here we have a good instance of excavation proving earthwork to be Norman which had been generally thought to be either Roman or pre-Roman. It would be also instructive to consider the numbers of the population here; in 1086 there were upon the lord's demesne 14 plough-teams, and 209 villeins and 83 bordars shared 45 teams; but there could have been 120 teams on the land—and doubtless the damage done immediately after the battle of Hastings had not yet been made good when the *Domesday Book* was drawn up. It is profitable to compare the number of villeins and bordars on a manor in rich Kent with the number in a humble village in Bedfordshire, yet the Kentishmen until they could double the number of ploughs in use were individually worse off than the Bedfordians.

In Sussex the lands had been held T.R.E. in scattered fragments, just as elsewhere, and a great deal was in the hands of the family of Godwin. William did not allot these lands in scattered fragments, but departing from his usual custom he simply fixed geographical boundaries, five compact plots of land awarded to five great barons, besides a small amount of royal land and church land. He evidently chose the five as men who would be loyal to him and were connected by ties of birth or marriage, whom he could trust to defend

[1] Mr. G. P. Lapsley's *Durham*.

the coast and yet not abuse their power so as to rebel against him. At the same time he reduced the taxation. Perhaps this is a good place to insist upon an exact knowledge of such words as "hide," for a typical writer of guide-books, or an author who considers brilliancy to be more important than historical accuracy, being unable to understand how 100 hides T.R.E. could shrink to 50 hides T.R.W., guesses that the sea encroached upon the land and so reduced the area under the plough. Any student of history should be able to inform such people that the true explanation is that the land was once rated at 100 hides, but that William now rated it at 50 for the payment of danegeld. Each of the five blocks was called a *rape*, and each included a portion of valley and of down; the head of each rape was a castle, either on the sea, or at a short distance inland on a river.

First we have the rape of Hastings allotted to the Count of Eu, William's cousin; the erection of a mound and timber castle at Hastings is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry. Next at Pevensey, Robert of Mortain, half-brother of William and own brother of Odo, occupied the old Roman fortress, which the Saxons had disregarded, and set to work at once to throw up a small solid keep in the eastern corner. It used to be thought that Robert's keep was a mound such as we have described elsewhere, but recent excavation has proved that there was no mound at all; a solid mass of rubble faced with dressed stone was piled up to the level of the Roman wall, and on this mass and on the adjoining piece of Roman wall was built a solid keep.[1] This fact is interesting, because certainly elsewhere the King allowed no baron to build such castles; but his half-brother was a great favourite of his, and was allowed to have such a fortress, besides receiving a greater amount of land than any of the other Norman barons in the whole of England. A peculiarity of the Norman work at Pevensey is that, in imitation of the Roman bastions, three irregular apsidal buttresses were built up against this keep on the inside; the result is that the ground plan is made out by the excavators as quite irregular, and might even be called freakish. The chapel of the castle was built on the line

[1] Documentary evidence also exists to prove the point. The *turris* of Pevensey is mentioned in Henry I's reign, and *turris* invariably meant "keep"; *castellum* meant the outer enclosure, i.e. the Roman area.

of one of the outer Roman bastions. A piece of the Roman wall and another bastion had already fallen, being too heavy for the natural clay on which they stood; Robert's architect filled up the breach and on the fallen bastion erected a small postern-tower, so that here we have Roman and Norman work side by side, the Roman bonded with tiles and the Norman not, the Roman mortar finer with small sifted pebbles or bits of gravel mixed in, and the Norman mortar coarser with larger pebbles. Moreover, next is seen the inner wall and towers of Henry II's reign, and another contrast appears; early Norman mortar joints are wide, later Norman mortar joints narrow and the stuff more finely mixed.[1]

Next to the west William of Warenne, who married King William's stepdaughter, was lord of the rape of Lewes. He planted his stronghold inside the old Saxon burgh on the top of the hill which dominates the gap cut through the chalk down by the Ouse; the place commands a wide view, and to-day six lines of railway and all the roads in that part of Sussex converge on Lewes. The castle is unusual. Two mounds,[2] one at either end of the hill-top, were connected by an oval of outer wall. In the thirteenth century, or it may be the fourteenth, a shell-keep was built on the higher of the two. On the flat below the town to the south this first Earl of Warenne founded the Cluniac priory of St. Pancras, for he was particularly attached to that Order and had visited the mother abbey at Cluny in Burgundy. Castle and priory alike played their parts in the battle of 1264, when Prince Edward charged from below the castle and broke Earl Simon's left, and Simon's centre and right drove King Henry's main force in rout into the priory buildings.

William of Braose received the rape of Bramber, the valley of the Adur with a block of downs on either side. Bramber does not stand very high or command so wide a view as Lewes, but it is strong. Inside the little burgh of Heorepeburan[3] is a mound, not connected with the outer wall and

[1] Report of the excavators, Mr. Harold Sands and Mr. D. H. Montgomerie, and information kindly supplied on the spot.

[2] Pomfret Castle had originally two mounds just like Lewes. There are two mounds side by side at Eaton Socon in Beds on the Great Ouse; and two natural knolls were utilised at Deganwy opposite to Conway.

[3] See above, p. 141.

apparently, as the general probability of the mound theory of castles suggests, thrown up by Normans inside the Saxon enclosure; in some later reign stone was added to the outworks, and a great gateway was erected which was also the keep. Higher up the Adur was a second Braose Castle on a mound at Knepp.

The last and fifth rape was bestowed on Earl Roger of Montgomery. He had two strongholds, each a mound castle, the one in the Saxon burgh of Arundel [1] which had taken the place of Burpham as the chief fortress on the Arun, the other within and close to the wall of Chichester. Each of these barons had special powers in his own rape, and appointed his own sheriff. Indeed the rapes are often named from them rather than from the chief places; it is the rape of Earl Roger rather than of Arundel, and his sheriff, Roger of Pulborough, had a small mound castle higher up the Arun at Pulborough near the Stane Street.

In Surrey William himself took Guildford, which had already superseded Eashing as the chief Saxon burgh of the district; Farnham belonged to the see of Winchester; Reigate was conferred on William of Warenne; and Bletchingley on Richard of Clare. It is a fair assumption that William wished to defend the southern approaches to London, and that the earliest earthworks at each place date from his reign. Farnham guards the gap through the downs near the Pilgrims' Way, and Guildford the next gap eastwards. Reigate indeed is half a dozen miles off the Dorking gap, but from the southern slope of the down looks out over the upper valley of the Mole and commands a wide range of country. At Bletchingley, which is near Reigate and on the same side of the slope, the earthworks show no signs of a mound, and the Clares evidently did not think it an important place, for no stone-work was ever added.

In northern Hampshire, obviously to guard the connection between London and Winchester, William gave to Hugh de Port a compact block of land, fifty-six manors held direct from the Crown, besides twenty-two which he held as Odo's sub-tenant; he took his name from Port-en-Bessin which is near Bayeux. The head of the barony was at Basing. The

[1] Mr. Round shows that the "Arundel Castle" of Saxon days is simply the burgh itself.

celebrated siege of Basing House, which Inigo Jones strengthened and Cromwell wrecked, has encumbered the ground with a mass of ruins. But one can make out the line of a very old pre-Roman camp and its ditch; also there is an inner ditch which doubtless Hugh de Port dug so as to make a smaller defensive area, and the foundation of a later square Norman keep has been laid bare. We can hardly imagine that in so important a barony no early castle was erected, and Hugh's devotion to the Norman cause is seen in the clean sweep that he made of all Saxon tenants and sub-tenants from the land, so that we expect him to have had an early mound fortress. Basing looks out over the saucer-like valley where the headwaters of the Loddon collect, and the main line of the L. & S.W.R. runs close at hand. Valleys that modern engineers have taken for their lines were important enough to be dominated 800 years ago by castles; Lewes, Bramber, Arundel, Reigate, Guildford, Farnham, Basing, are all cases in point.

The only Saxon burgh in Berkshire as we saw was Wallingford. Here the main Norman army crossed in 1066, and here a Saxon thegn by name Wigod made surrender to William, and afterwards received favour from William. Doubtless if Wigod had tried to defend the burgh and ford he might have given much trouble, and thus we can understand why William favoured him. His heiress married Robert d'Oyley, which was doubtless an additional act of treason in Saxon eyes. But Wigod is only twice mentioned in *D.B.* His lands descended to Robert d'Oyley and to Miles Crispin, and it was Robert who threw up the two great mounds at Wallingford and at Oxford to secure control over the river. The Wallingford mound is very large and breaks the Saxon earth rampart where it touched the river on the west; it was trebly moated on the side towards the open country. The original mound of Windsor Castle also dates from the reign of the Conqueror; it was not in the old royal manor of Windsor, but in the manor of Clewer. There were 5 hides at Clewer T.R.E., and "now" only $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and the castle of Windsor is on the other half-hide; this means that taxation had been remitted on the half-hide in consideration of the land being taken for a castle. In the various royal manors of Berkshire, at Windsor and Reading on the Thames, and Thatcham on the Kennet, there were "closes," which were town-houses kept

up by the King's tenants. At Newbury on the Kennet a Frenchman, Ernulf of Hesdin, was lord and had fifty-one closes; it was a fortified position, and there was once a mound castle which modern civilisation has removed. Newbury and Thatcham would be of importance as guarding not only the Kennet valley, but also the Bath Road.

As the lands of Kent, Sussex, and part of Hampshire were systematically allotted by William so that he might cover London and guard the coast by planting there a group of reliable barons, so on the Welsh border he allotted the border counties. Hugh of Avranches was made Earl of Chester, Roger of Montgomery Earl of Shrewsbury, and William fitz Osbern Earl of Hereford. Their duty was to hold back the Welsh and to conquer into Wales. Their counties were what in later days would be called "palatine"; Chester retained its palatine position, but in the middle of the thirteenth century reverted to the Crown; Shrewsbury ceased to be palatine after Henry I suppressed Robert of Bellême, and Hereford when William I crushed fitz Osbern's son Roger. The landowners of Chester were in Edward I's reigned styled *homines regis;* before the Crown took over the county they were *homines comitis*, and they could only be called upon to do feudal service against the North Welsh.

Earl Hugh occupied Rhuddlan on the rising bank of the river Clwyd above its estuary, a convenient bridge-place and a good site for a castle to dominate coast and coast-road. It was an outpost of Chester in the task of conquering Wales. A large mound can still be seen some distance from Edward I's castle. There is also a mound and court some three miles south of Denbigh, and probably others mark the temporary and unsuccessful efforts of Hugh and his descendants to hold down Wales.[1]

Earl Roger had a mound castle at Shrewsbury, destroying fifty-one houses in the town to clear a space for it. The advocates of the Norman origin of mounds rely on the *Domesday* passage which records the fact as one of their strongest arguments;—the "English" of Shrewsbury complain that

[1] Mrs. Armitage, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1905, repeats some of her arguments against Mr. Pryce, and especially argues that the mounds and courts in Wales are probably Norman even though there may be no record of Normans having occupied the sites.

they have to pay the full danegeld as in the Confessor's reign, although the Earl's castle "occupies" fifty-one houses, and fifty others are waste. On the Severn at Hendomen he had another mound and court, and the name of his Norman home was given to it; Saint Germain de Mont Goméri is near Lisieux in Normandy. This was the "old castle" of Montgomery; the new castle which now bears the name, a very lofty and wide fortress with four courts, dates from Henry III's reign and was royal; the two sites are a mile apart.[1] Over thirty castles were under the control of Robert of Bellême, Roger's son, when he rebelled against Henry I. His rebellion collapsed at Bridgenorth when his garrison refused to fight.

Earl William fitz Osbern is recorded to have had special orders from King William to build castles. Four castles are attributed to him by *D.B.*, Clifford, Wigmore, Ness (i.e. Berkeley), Strigul (i.e. Chepstow). Berkeley mound is hidden by a later stone keep. Chepstow mound is thought to have been where afterwards was the barbican, i.e. the outer defence of the gateway beyond the moat, of the enlarged castle; it was on the highest part of the cliff above the Wye. The great hall of Chepstow is judged by experts to have been fitz Osbern's work, "splendidly restored in the thirteenth century," and in its restored condition it has the appearance of the lower part of a keep. But in this part of the country we do not need to multiply instances. The V.C.H. volumes show a great number of mounds or mounds and courts in Shropshire and Herefordshire, and as the Normans penetrated into South Wales they left their mark everywhere. But owing to the revolts of the sons of the two first earls we do not find them in the hands of two great palatine families. A century later Clares, Braoses, Lacys, Tonys, Mortimers, will be found in possession. It is worth recalling that Richard's Castle and Ewias Harold are pre-Conquest mounds erected by Normans of the Confessor's reign, the latter by Osbern, father of Earl William.

Also along the border the palatine earls introduced Norman retainers and townsfolk into the towns, whether old towns or those which grew up around the mound castles. To them they gave town-laws, called "the Laws of Breteuil," and Breteuil was fitz Osbern's Norman home. It is interesting

[1] Mr. Pryce points this out in the article just quoted.

to trace this development of town-life in the west of England, also in Wales and Ireland where Normans conquered, to a foreign origin. The Laws of Breteuil were not for mere castle garrisons, but for colonies of townsmen, Norman agents in the work of holding down and civilising—or, if one likes the word better, "Normanising"—the border counties. They are found at Preston in Lancashire and Barnstaple in Devon, at Rhuddlan, Cardiff, Pembroke, and elsewhere, as well as at Hereford and Shrewsbury. By such laws this district was Normanised, not Anglicised.[1]

The lands of the north suffered severely at the hands of the first Norman raiders and of the Scots who came to help the Northumbrians. William sent Walcher of Lorraine to be Bishop of Durham and to secure the country. He built the first castle at Durham, and the lands of the bishopric became palatine; but the historian of the see, Mr. G. Lapsley, thinks that the bishop's exceptional power was really the outcome of the independent spirit of the Northumbrians, who had never submitted tamely to Wessex in earlier days, and were now treated with some consideration by William. Walcher was bidden to look to the defence of Durham, yet it was the notorious Ralph Flambard, the minister of Rufus, who did most to strengthen both the see and the castle, and the word "palatine" only appears later. There was in after days many a fighting bishop of Durham—Antony Bek under Edward I, and Thomas of Hatfield who fought at Crecy under Edward III. The feudal tenants owed allegiance and a service of seventy knights to the bishop, but they could only be called out for feudal service against the Scots. A strip of land along the Tweed, where Norham Castle has been famous in both history and romance, belonged to the bishopric.

Elsewhere in England, though often we find some baron holding a great amount of land in one county, the manors are not close together in blocks. Eustace of Boulogne had most of his 400 hides[2] scattered throughout Essex, but the rest in no less than eleven counties. The lands passed to the Crown when his heiress married Stephen. In Henry III's reign we know that exactly the same manors formed the

[1] Miss Bateson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vols. xv, xvi.

[2] In Norfolk and Suffolk land was reckoned by *carucates*, in Kent by *sulungs*, not by *hides*.

" honour of Boulogne " which *D.B.* shows that Eustace held under William I, and were rated at 120 knights, so that we may be sure that William I originally fixed that number. In so many baronies the lands were divided amongst heiresses and changed hands that it is difficult to trace from evidence of Henry II's or Henry III's reign what was the feudal service in William's ; thus the clear instance of the Boulogne barony, 120 knights owed for 400 hides, is instructive.

Richard fitz Gilbert received from William two baronies of which the centres were at Clare in Suffolk and Tonbridge in Kent. He is styled indifferently " of Clare " or " of Tonbridge," but his descendants took the name of Clare, a very rare instance of a Norman of high rank dropping his Norman name. At each place is to be seen a very lofty and artificial mound, and an outer and an inner court surrounded by mighty banks of earth. At Clare the earthworks have been claimed as Roman, and a derivation has been invented from *clarum flumen*, on the strength of Roman tiles being found in both castle and church ; a camp half a mile away is also supposed to be Roman, yet no expert has been found to agree, and it is sufficient to suppose that a civilian settlement of some sort provided the tiles. On the other hand Clare really was important in Saxon days, and there would be no difficulty in supposing that Richard threw up his mound at an angle of a small but strong burgh. Yet the probability of Norman origin is great, for the position of the mound and the plan of the outer and inner courts of Clare correspond to those at Tonbridge, and such similarity in style argues nearness in date and construction by the same baron. The barony included 170 manors of which 95 were in Suffolk. The same problem concerning the probability of heavy and extensive rings of earthwork being Norman meets us at Castle Rising and Castle Acre in Norfolk. There is nothing to prevent anybody from believing that the Normans utilised ancient earthworks here, just as at Basing and Old Sarum, yet in the eastern counties where stone was difficult to obtain the suspicion is that such heavy earthworks were planned by Normans. In Essex the mound-and-court castles are very much larger than in most other counties. Great Canfield measures " over all " 800 by 560 feet, and the central mound within its moat is 300 feet in diameter ; Hedingham measures " over

Castle Rising, Norfolk; late Norman Keep within Norman Earthworks
Photo: S. Milne *Face page* 184

all" 1050 by 600 feet, and the plateau of the mound 350 by 300 feet. These were held by Aubrey de Vere, ancestor of eighteen Earls of Oxford in the direct male line down to the year 1625, whose name has passed into our language as a synonym for the bluest of blue Norman blood. He held Hedingham in demesne, and four "foreigners" had a few acres of land each; Mr. Round thinks that this is a sign that the place was the baron's chief seat, and the foreigners would be his "knights." Great Canfield he sublet to Count Alan of Brittany. Other Essex mound castles, Ongar held by Count Eustace of Boulogne, Pleshey the head of the barony of Mandeville, also extend over a great area.

Lewes, Reigate, and Castle Acre were all of them strongholds of William of Warenne; at Castle Acre, as at Lewes, he founded also a Cluniac priory. Clare, Tonbridge, Bletchingley, were fortresses of Richard fitz Gilbert. The families of Warenne and Clare are usually found on opposite sides if ever there is a civil war, though only in Surrey were their castles close to each other. Robert of Mortain, besides Pevensey, had lands and built castles as far apart as at Launceston and Berkhampstead, succeeding to the same Saxon thegn in each case. Practically the whole of Cornwall fell to him. The position of Berkhampstead, as has been noticed already, was of particular importance as it controlled the valley which, breaking through the Chiltern range, gives access from the Icknield Way to London, a valley now traversed by the L. & N.W.R. main line and the Grand Junction Canal.[1] The Mortain Castle at Great Berkhampstead was of the ordinary mound-and-court type. It is surrounded by an extra ring of earth on which are several great earthen bastions or platforms, and the explanation is that Louis of France erected them for his artillery when he besieged the place in 1216 after King John's death. An interesting fact is that all the Mortain lands were under Rufus confiscated to the Crown; Pevensey ultimately was bestowed by Edward III on John of Gaunt; but all the manors in Cornwall and Berkhampstead came to Henry III's younger brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and finally formed the Duchy of Cornwall, and to-day Berkhampstead is part of that "delectable duchy." Cornwall, the rape of Pevensey, Berkhampstead, and countless

[1] See above, pp. 33 and 161. Mr. D. H. Montgomerie in the *Herts* V.C.H.

manors in almost every county in England, some 700 manors in all, show William I's trust in his half-brother Robert of Mortain; the confiscation under Rufus, when Robert's son William rebelled, shows how the Crown had ever to guard against powerful barons and how sons of loyalists might be dangerous rebels.

As we go northward we find fortresses built of stone at an earlier date than in the south, for where a strong and high site was chosen stone was more plentiful. Peveril Castle was erected on a rocky headland in wild country by William Peveril, but it soon came into the power of the Crown. The head of Count Alan's barony was Richmond on the Swale; he received from the Conqueror nearly 250 manors, and the estate was known as Richmondshire. The early walls of the castle were of stone, though the keep was built a century later. The same was the case at Bamborough Castle, the stronghold of the Mowbray who defied Rufus in the north even as Odo and William of Mortain rebelled in the south; with the suppression of Mowbray Bamborough became royal.

The most important of all the eleventh-century castles are those which the King himself took in hand. In almost every important burgh he laid at least the foundations of some citadel which would serve two purposes, keeping down the Saxons resident in the town, and defending the town from outside invaders such as the Danes or Scots.[1] Therefore we find most royal castles planted astride the town wall, usually just at the point where it strikes a river, and the fortifications point on this side against the town, on that side towards the open country. Of course there are exceptions, as at Colchester. William himself probably began some fortifications at London at a very early date. Norman works at Winchester and Exeter were also early. During his campaign of 1068 against Edwin and Morcar he founded castles at Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. In 1069, after a revolt, he erected a second castle at York on the opposite bank of the Ouse. In 1070, moving west, he founded the castles of Chester and Stafford. Being in a hurry, he certainly erected no more than timber castles on mounds. At York his mounds were one on either side of the Ouse, and were timbered; they were outside the old

[1] F. M. Stenton's *William the Conqueror*, passim.

Roman walls and down-stream, as his main purpose was to guard against Danes coming up. At the present day they are called Clifford's Tower and Baile Hill, but the stone Clifford's Tower dates from Henry III's reign. There are two mounds to be seen at Canterbury, the largest of them well known as the Dane John, outside the town. There is no need to raise doubts about the meaning of this name; it is simply a variation of dungeon or *donjon*, which is a synonym for *motte* or mound. Apparently Henry II extended the town wall of Canterbury so as to bring the Dane John inside, and he erected a new stone castle. What has puzzled many people is the relation of the Dane John to this stone castle, and the solution simply is that Henry II, instead of putting a stone keep on top of the older mound, preferred to choose a new site alongside, not at all a rare occurrence in the two centuries after Hastings. At Rochester the oldest castle, wooden and on a mound, was on Boley Hill overhanging the Medway just outside the Roman town-wall and separated from it by a ditch; Satis House now stands there; the later keep, begun under Henry I, was inside the Roman work. At Porchester the Roman fortress had become a Saxon burgh; William I took it over, but did not erect a mound, and Henry I erected the great keep in one corner. Exeter Castle is rather puzzling; the town of Exeter was the Saxon burgh, running down the hill from a pre-Roman hill-top fort,[1] and the Normans did little more than fortify with stone the pre-Roman ring of earth and add a great gateway of red stone; but they largely, perhaps entirely, rebuilt the town wall. The Castle of Winchester was not so lofty as that of Exeter, but had the same position towards its town which falls from it downhill. Lastly let us take Corfe. Edward the Martyr was slain at Corfe Geat, but there was no Saxon castle at that time on the hill which we now call Corfe Castle. Guide-books indeed say that there was, but then guide-books wish to attract tourists to the place, and the ordinary British tourist would think himself cheated if he were told that the thirteenth-century gate was not the actual scene of Edward's murder. The land, being in the manor of Kingston, passed out of the hands of the Saxon kings and was bestowed upon the nuns of Shaftesbury. William the Conqueror made an

[1] See above, p. 138.

exchange with the nuns, gave them another bit of land, and took the hill for himself.[1] Possibly in his reign the top of this very steep hill was made steeper by art, and the usual wooden castle erected on it. On the western shoulder of the hill in an outer court was a royal hall, part of the wall of which remains, the stones being laid in herring-bone style. Henry I commenced the mighty—one might even say the overpoweringly lofty—keep, and the very great outer enclosure which runs to the foot of the hill was finally girt with walls and round towers by Edward I. The whole of south Dorset was once a wide heath of barren land with here and there a great lagoon within it. It was sparsely inhabited in Saxon times; only Wareham had been made a Saxon burgh on the River Frome as a stronghold to stop the Danes. Why then did the Norman kings erect one of the strongest as well as the most picturesque of their castles on such a spot? The answer is that the very valuable Purbeck quarries required guarding.

The Tower of London, planned by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, dates from the last half of William's reign and doubtless was finished in that of Rufus. That there had been a Roman or a Saxon citadel on the site cannot be proved, and the theory is at best but a pious belief; such a word as *arx* is vague and refers to London town. The Roman masonry now exposed is simply a bit of the town wall where it came to the river. That William first threw up a mound and court just inside the Roman wall is very likely, for fragments of pointed stakes belonging to some old stockade have been found, but Gundulf's work superseded the old. It is called the White Tower, not from the stone, but from the white-wash used to distinguish it. The dimensions are 107 feet by 118, and it is 90 feet in height; the wall is 15 feet thick below and the mortar is very good; in the upper stories the thickness is 10 feet and the mortar inferior. The south-east corner tower bulges, because here is the chapel and the tower takes the shape of the apse of the chapel; we see, as at Pevensey, that the shape is copied from a Roman bastion. The two great outer concentric walls which broke the town wall of

[1] This has been argued by Eyton, and has been generally accepted. See D'Auvergne, p. 132, and Mrs. Armitage's article. In *D.B.* it is called "Wareham Castle," but it is in "the Manor of Kingston."

Roman London, the many famous towers thereon, and the enormous moat which was fed from the Thames, were mainly the work of John and Henry III;—the concentric plan of castle architecture was introduced from Palestine by Crusaders.

At Colchester the stone walls of the small inner Roman castrum of two acres were embedded in earth, and part of this mighty rampart yet remains. It may be Saxon; but probably, as at Clare and Castle Rising, we see here the earliest Norman work. Quite late in William I's reign Colchester Keep was begun, and the style shows that the architect was Bishop Gundulf. Indeed it is a twin work with the White Tower. But the Tower received mighty later additions, and though occasionally attacked was never really besieged; whereas Colchester was often besieged and much battered, so that only the basement and one story remain. The material also is different. A little ironstone was brought from afar, or was taken out of some buildings of Roman Camulodunum, but it soon ran short and one can see it used sparingly at the angles of the towers and in the buttresses near the ground; the rest of the stone is the ordinary limestone of the Essex coast, whether quarried by the Normans near Harwich or taken from Roman houses; but a vast quantity of tile was also used. Indeed, not only the castle, but a Saxon church tower and a Norman priory at Colchester are built with many tiles, and hardly a parish church in the neighbourhood is to be seen without tiles. So common is the material that many people have thought that the Normans must have themselves baked tiles in Roman fashion. But the castle tiles are genuinely Roman, for Roman mortar is found adhering to many, and the great colony must have been thickly populated and full of tile-built houses which were a ready quarry. The castle occupied the southern side of the embanked enclosure above mentioned. On the ground it measures 152 by 111 feet, and the walls are 30 feet thick because of the softness of the material. Inside is now a courtyard; but then the whole of the interior was filled up by cross-walls to enable rooms to be built. The basement would be used for stores, and no gate led to it. The first floor, reached by an outer stair to the one gate at the north-west angle, was for the garrison, the second floor for the King's constable and his family, the third for officers and officials. As at the Tower, the chapel was in the

south-east tower on the second floor, and this tower bulged outwards like a Roman bastion; to-day the museum is housed on the first floor in the undercroft of the chapel, and one has a feeling there of being in church. The flat and wide Norman buttresses running up the sides of the walls should be noticed, also the fewness of the arrow-slits, especially on the basement. The great gate on the ground on the south side is of a late date.

One must not expect to find all castle sites alike. The Normans built high up or low down just as the ground determined. The ideal situation was on a slightly rising ground by a river and on a ford which the baron would wish to control. But Lewes and Corfe stand high, each on its hill in a gap in a range of downs. Richmond Castle, the fortress of Earl Alan of Brittany, is high above the Swale, and the Castles at Dover, Folkestone, Hastings, Scarborough, and so on are high. The Bishop of Hereford built on earlier earthworks on the Malvern beacon. Castle Neroche in Somerset, in the midst of a royal forest, stands very high. In such cases a view over a wide stretch of country was considered to be important. Yet, as the aim of the Norman invaders was to hold the country, overawe the population, and simply defend themselves from a mass rising of badly armed villeins, most of the early mounds and courts are low down, near or on water, and in the towns and villages among the people. Conquerors do not as a rule require impregnable eagles' nests; Professor Freeman says, "vultures' nests," naming Peveril Castle. Siege artillery was not powerful in the eleventh century, and Saxon insurgents would have had no artillery at all; therefore high ground was not necessary.

It is clear that when William awarded much land to one man he relied upon his being personally faithful. But the temptation to rebel against the King was too strong for many barons; the spirit was too strong within them, and it was a sort of tradition for every Norman lord to consider himself the equal of the Duke of Normandy. The first famous rising was that of the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford in the lifetime of the Conqueror. The Countess, Hereford's sister and Norfolk's wife, whose betrothal caused the trouble, defended the *motte* of Norwich; but it was not Norfolk's own fortress, and he only had held it as constable for the King.

This Earl of Hereford was Roger of Breteuil, son of William fitz Osbern who had been one of William I's most trusted earls; when the revolt was suppressed Herefordshire ceased to be a county palatine. Rufus had to suppress Odo of Bayeux, and William, son of Robert of Mortain. Henry I had to suppress Robert of Bellême, son of Roger of Montgomery, and thereby Shrewsbury ceased to be a palatine county. A great deal of land came therefore under the Crown. Arundel was bestowed upon Henry I's second wife, and she brought it to her second husband who was a d'Aubigny; it fell later to the Fitzalans, and after many centuries to the Howards. The earldom of Cornwall, and Berkhampstead with it, passed ultimately to Henry III's brother; as we saw before, Berkhampstead still forms part of the Duchy of Cornwall.

But it was in the course of the civil war between Stephen and Maud that the barons, no longer restrained by a strong Crown, showed their determination to be independent. They built castles in every direction, and these were known as "adulterine." The well-known and often-quoted passage from the *Chronicle*, in which are commemorated the woes of the miserable Saxons ground down and tortured by the wicked Norman masters of castles, refers to this period of anarchy, and not to all the Norman reigns. Before and after the civil war there might be an occasional ruthless baron, such as Robert of Bellême, but it was to the interest of the Crown to keep under such bold bad barons. Therefore the usual moan which is made is quite out of place; the horrors of Norman dungeons need only be pictured by those who study the fate of England when both Stephen and Maud were weak, each wanting supporters, and each having to bid for the help of such utter scoundrels as Geoffrey of Mandeville. As the "adulterine" castles were built rapidly within a few years, and were rapidly destroyed by Henry II, it is highly probable that they were mounds and courts of the pattern of William I's reign; that being so, one fails to see where the horrible underground dungeon or torture chamber is to be located. If Henry II's servants did their work thoroughly traces would soon have disappeared, and indeed we have not a single certain instance of any one of them. Just here and there perhaps we think that we may find an "adulterine" mound and court in some village which was not part of an important barony in

1086; where we know from *D.B.* that neither the old Saxon lord nor his Norman successor was a man of standing, it would be fair to guess that the deserted earthworks and ditch were the result of the anarchy under the feeble though well-meaning Stephen. The great majority of stone keeps, whether shell keeps or square keeps, date from Henry II's reign onwards, and the strongest and best of them were royal.

So far, London and Colchester apart, we have had two things to think about, an inner wooden citadel on a mound and an outer enclosure. Of course, there might be one, two, three, or even more outer courts or baileys, which would be added to each other one by one in course of several years. Mr. Round makes a distinction between "tower" and "castle"; "tower" belongs rightly to the London and Colchester and Pevensey citadels, and "castle," *castellum* or *castrum*, would naturally refer to an outer enclosure only. But by a confusion in language we give the name "castle" to the citadel itself. After the reign of William I, when stronger works were being constructed, we usually find that stone walls were added to the earthen ramparts of the outer courts before a stone keep was built on the mound. The reason for this is evident; the earth of the outworks being less lofty would settle down quicker and bear a stone superstructure more easily. We are told, for instance, that the outer stone works of Dover Castle were built before the new great keep. The same thing probably was done at Bedford, for on the bailey wall was "the old tower." Older than what? Obviously than the stone keep on the mound.

The Norman keeps divide into two types, shell keeps and square keeps. A shell keep was formed by a simple wall erected along the crown of the mound which was the original inner citadel. They may date from any period between the reigns of Rufus and Edward III. The wooden tower on the *motte* of Shrewsbury was still standing, but in a ruined state, early in Edward I's reign and then it fell. The shell keep at Lewes was of the thirteenth or perhaps fourteenth century, and that at Clare of the thirteenth. It was not necessary as a rule to build up the walls very strong—about five feet in thickness on an average—because a lofty tower on top of an already lofty mound was not likely to be within range of even the most powerful artillery then in use. The shell keep at

Clare is built of flints,—one knows that all over East Anglia churches are built of flints because there are no good stone quarries in the neighbourhood,—and was supported on the outside by buttresses, not the flat and wide buttresses which we have already mentioned at Colchester, but those of the Early English type which project in stages more prominent at the bottom, slighter and dying away at the top. At Tonbridge the mound was likewise crowned by a shell keep but apparently of an earlier date; the great thirteenth-century gateway, which was built on the wall of the inner court and just alongside the mound and shell keep, was both gateway and citadel in one; it is of great size and it has four portcullises. This combination of gateway and keep is rare, but we have instances at Bramber, Exeter, Denbigh. The area enclosed by the wall of a shell keep was partly taken up by lean-to buildings, but must have been open in the centre to the air. We have no perfect example of a shell keep, because they were very easily destroyed, whereas more solid work even the soldiers of Cromwell found it difficult to blow up. There is a sort of superstition that King Arthur had something to do with Windsor, and that the round tower of Windsor was planned on purpose to accommodate a round table where the knights might sit and all be equal. In truth the tower was originally a shell keep fitted, as so many elsewhere, to an older mound. Edward III here played at being Arthur, but the shape had been determined before his time. Rebuilding by George III and George IV prevents us from picturing Plantagenet or Norman Windsor.

The shell keeps of Berkeley and Castle Rising are interesting, for they were built at the foot of and not on the top of their mounds; thus they ring in and hide the older work. They seem to be the work of the same architect, though at opposite ends of England. Castle Rising seems to be badly situated, for if an enemy stormed the massive outer earthworks—30 feet high on the inside, 60 feet above the foot of the moat, and 15 feet thick—the keep would apparently be at his mercy as it lies low; however, a low-lying stone keep was still strong, and the defending crossbowmen and artillerymen would have the enemy well within their range and against the sky-line if he tried to set up engines on the captured outworks.

Square solid keeps were occasionally built upon *mottes*

or on natural heights. At Corfe, for instance, Henry I's keep was on top of the hill, and one wall still stands and defies the gales. But usually a square keep was erected on new ground. Both at Canterbury and at Rochester the mound was deserted. At Dover there was plenty of space for a keep. At Norwich the square keep was built on the great *motte* that we saw previously the Countess defended in the revolt of 1075. All these were royal. But barons began to build keeps when they could get leave from some king; "licence to crenelate" is the phrase used. At Hedingham rose the mighty pile of the Veres; the material is the ironstone of Barnac in the Nen valley, and to cart vast quantities of it such a distance must have involved enormous expense. Castles and cathedrals of the east often show much Barnac stone, and if it could be brought by barge down the Nen, then along the coast and up a tidal creek, there was little trouble involved. But to bring all the stuff round to Hythe, the harbour of Colchester, and then to cart it sixteen miles to Hedingham was a different matter. Clare shell keep we saw was of flint. Very many strong private baronial castles rose in the North Country, for the Crown could not refuse the licence to crenelate in districts where raiding bands of Scots might appear. The great royal keep of Bamborough and the baronial keep of Richmond date from Henry II's reign. Alnwick is of about 1150, the fortress of the family of de Vesci, before which the Scots King William the Lion was captured in 1173, and which by a swindle in 1297 Bishop Antony Bek of Durham bestowed upon the first Percy. Warkworth Castle also came to the Percys, having been built by Fitz Roger about 1200. Pomfret was a castle of the Lacys, and its keep dates from Henry III; Earl Thomas of Lancaster obtained it by marrying Alice, sister of the last Lacy Earl of Lincoln, and there in his own castle he was executed after a turbulent and rebellious life spent in constant opposition to his own cousin Edward II; later on Richard II was brought here to die by Henry the Lancastrian rebel. "I love Pomfret, and why? it is in all our histories." So wrote Swift, but Pomfret is chiefly associated with selfish faction and violent deaths. The greedy Lancastrians also got possession of Dunstanburgh, vastest and also most ruinous of massive piles. In south Yorkshire Conisborough on the River Don has the special interest that

it was Athelstane's castle in *Ivanhoe*, but it is extremely unlikely that the earthworks there are pre-Norman, and the great keep, not square but polygonal, was probably thrown up by Hamlyn Plantagenet, the brother of Henry II, who married the heiress of the Warennes and adopted their name; therefore we have to add Conisborough to Lewes, Reigate, and Castle Acre, as fortresses of the later Warenne family. Two castles require special mention. At Clun in Shropshire on the Welsh border is a square keep which occupies a side of an older mound, and the outer face of it runs down to the bottom of the ditch. At Guildford on the mound was first erected a shell keep, then a square keep, as at Clun, occupying part of the mound and running down to the foot of the ditch; therefore the shell keep became, as it were, a middle court between the square keep and the outer enclosure of all.[1] Clun passed into the power of the Fitzalan family, who also obtained Arundel by marriage with a d'Aubigny heiress. Guildford was always royal.

The special weakness of either a round or a square keep was that it gave no facilities for a counter-attack or sortie. It was constructed simply for defence. The usual position of the main entrance was on the first story, and it was reached by a ladder or wooden stair that could be removed; when a later entrance was made on the basement it was covered by some projecting masonry. Therefore in either case it would be a matter of time before an armed body could quit the keep for a sortie, and the essential of a surprise attack upon besiegers is speed. A sortie from a shell keep would necessitate a scramble down a steep mound. Another weakness was the impossibility of shooting at an enemy who had reached the foot of the wall; therefore the *brattice* was devised, a wooden floor resting on projecting beams through which stones or boiling water or molten lead could be let fall. Perhaps the strengthening of the outer walls of the courts, and the construction of great outer gateways and barbicans, sprang from a sense that it was better to defend the whole castle and rely most on the first line of resistance, so as to retire to the keep only in the last days of desperation.

A good deal of land surrounding royal castles was held by a service which is known as "castle guard." For instance

[1] Mr. H. E. Malden, *History of Surrey*.

many tenants held their lands in Kent on condition of supplying knights in relays to the garrison of Dover Castle. This was clearly a development of the Saxon method for manning the burghs. At Wallingford the safety of the burgh and ford was alike before and after the Conquest the duty of the tenants of lands in both Oxfordshire and Berkshire. In the case of London the guild of "knights," who used to defend the city in Saxon days, were stripped in 1125 of the lands apportioned to their upkeep; the inference is that when the King had a garrison of professional soldiers in the Tower the guild of knights was no longer wanted.[1] We are told that in the days of John a sum of £1000 was drawn by Hubert de Burgh as constable for the maintenance of a garrison at Dover, an extremely large sum if compared with the cost of maintenance of Edward I's garrisons in Conway and Caernarvon. Under Edward III, when Dover Castle had been very much enlarged and was of greater importance than ever owing to the long French war, it is thought that on a calculation of three bowmen to every two loopholes about 1000 would be required in garrison.[2] But the calculation depends upon guesswork; a great castle would not be attacked on all sides at the same moment unless the besieging army was in vastly superior numbers. Moreover, when the crossbow was the chief weapon of offence we know from documentary evidence that the numbers of trained crossbowmen were quite limited. If we look back to the early Norman reigns and put out of our minds the conditions of warfare under the Edwards, that is to say if we think of an England in which the longbow was yet two centuries away from its development as the national English weapon, it seems probable that the keeps with their heavy walls and their few windows and loopholes were not strongly manned. Very few castles would have needed large permanent garrisons, and even when a siege was imminent it would have been madness to introduce too many mouths to consume the stores. One of the chief advantages, indeed, of a strong castle was that it could be defended by few men. For instance Rufus besieged Odo in Rochester, and the details of the sufferings of the defenders

[1] Lethaby, p. 102.

[2] Rev. S. P. H. Statham's *History of Dover;* quoted by D'Auvergne, p. 68.

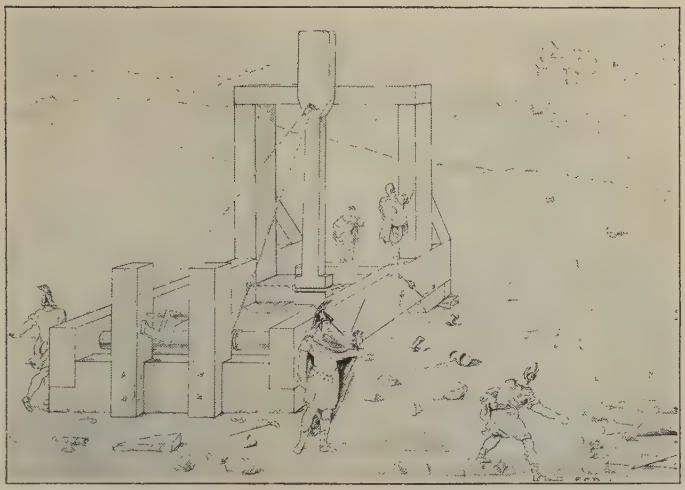
are gruesome; a large garrison would have suffered more in proportion, both from the stench and from the pangs of hunger; this was the earlier Rochester Castle on Boley Hill. When Henry I besieged Robert of Bellême at Bridgenorth a speedy surrender was caused by the unwillingness of Robert's men to fight in his cause.

The crusades led to improved methods of siege-craft, as well as of castle architecture and of tactics in battle. The story of the siege of Bedford Castle in 1224 gives us a picture of what could be done when all the resources of the Crown were brought to bear upon a typical shell keep on a mound, enclosed on the side of the town by an inner and an outer court. The date of this shell keep cannot be determined, but it was at least later than the stone walls of the two courts and of the "old tower" of the inner court. When King Stephen came to besiege it a contemporary chronicler says that it was an extremely strong castle; strong, we will take it, for that period, weak indeed when compared with many of the great late thirteenth-century fortresses. Still, when Hubert de Burgh besieged it in the name of Henry III in 1224, it was fairly strong and had to be assaulted by all the force that the Crown could raise. A certain ruffian, Falkes de Bréauté, one of King John's chief leaders of mercenaries, had got into his hands much land and many sheriffdoms, in particular that of Bedford, together with castles. A strong effort was made by Hubert de Burgh to bring them back into the royal power. William de Bréauté, brother of Falkes, openly defying the Crown, had carried off one of the royal judges from Dunstable and imprisoned him in Bedford Castle. The insult was too great to be passed over, and Hubert began a regular siege. First the defenders pulled down two churches from either of which artillery could have played upon the castle; with the material they strengthened the outer walls. They collected many cattle within the outer court. The royal army brought up its artillery: six mangonels and one great petrary. A mangonel may be described as a very solid framework, in shape like goal-posts; the feet of the two uprights were connected by twisted rope into which the end of a beam was inserted, and the other end was hauled down by main force on to a trigger; a stone was fitted and the trigger let loose, whereupon the beam was brought with a bang into

full contact with the cross-bar. A petrary, in French a *trebuchet*, was of a different nature, and was worked by a counterweight. There was a very solid sort of scaffold and a long beam was supported by a cross-piece at the top; a great basket of stones was attached to one end; the other end was hauled down to the trigger and, when the trigger was pulled, the counterweight brought the beam up with great force. From all accounts the mangonel was less powerful, but perhaps more accurate in aim. Stone balls which have been found in the ruins of various castles averaged between 12 and 21 inches in diameter. In this siege four mangonels were set to batter down the walls of the outer and inner courts; the petrary and two mangonels were set up against the keep itself on the eastern side where it was not covered by the court. But we have no account of the effect of the artillery. William had had plenty of time to scour the country for cattle and there was no fear that his garrison would be starved; therefore an assault was determined upon. In turn the royalists carried the outer postern; the wall of the outer court, where they captured most of the cattle; then, by means of mining with the help of a shed called "a cat," the wall and old tower of the inner court. But the shell keep defied the petrary. Thereupon Hubert set up a lofty wooden tower, from the floors of which his bowmen and crossbowmen might clear the ramparts of the defenders. But finally he had to have recourse to mining. He had brought up some miners from the Forest of Dean, the royal demesne which lies between the Severn and the Wye; these experienced fellows drove a gallery under the moat and under the mound; they propped it up with beams, and, at a suitable time, set fire to the beams. A great piece of the mound collapsed into the gallery, and half the wall of the shell keep with it. Then William surrendered, and the King's judge was rescued from his dungeon. In this story we have practically all the essentials of a medieval siege.[1]

The story of the development of our cathedrals goes very much upon the same lines as the story of the castles. We need not imagine that all the Norman work that we see now dates

[1] Mr. A. R. Goddard, *The Great Siege of Bedford Castle*, published by F. Hockliffe, Bedford. The contemporary authorities were monks of Dunstable, St. Albans, and Coggeshall.



Mangonel and Petrary, drawn from working models by E. C. Davis

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from William I's reign. Still an immense amount was done even then. Three things have to be remembered. Firstly, the science of architecture had not yet designed the best way of making a fireproof roof, and there must have been a very large amount of timber in the oldest Norman cathedrals. Fire made havoc of the work of Lanfranc and Anselm at Canterbury; the first great abbey church at Peterborough was likewise burnt. It was the experience gained from these and other cases that made the Early English and Decorated architects so careful in the matter of roof-building, and obviously, when stone and lead were used, it was necessary to strengthen the walls. Secondly, a great deal of early Norman work fell down. The best-known instance is that of the central tower of Ely Cathedral, and there are others at Norwich and Winchester. We need not imagine that the earliest Norman architects were mere jerry-builders. The interior of the piers was indeed only of rubble, and the outer facing of dressed stone, but that was the ordinary method of construction and does not imply that the work was scamped. Thirdly, there has been much work added to the original Norman. Few Norman windows exist, for the object of later architects was to provide more light and more air, and the Norman windows had to be enlarged. But when this has been said, it remains that a great deal of quite early Norman work remains in England.

Cathedral churches, abbey churches, and just a few parish churches are cruciform; the great central tower, at the junction of nave and chancel and two transepts, is as it were a mark, visible for miles around, of the presence of a cross. Viewed close at hand often a western tower seems to be as high as the central tower, and to get the full force of a cathedral design one has to view it from a distance, as at Durham and Lincoln; then one has a distinct perception how much more lofty is the central tower which stands at the intersection of the arms and body of the cross. The nave wall is carried on pillars and has its row of windows or *clerestory* above; on either side of the arcades of pillars are aisles. Now aisle walls are lower than nave walls, and thus remains a triangular space, giving outwardly a sloping roof, and presenting inwardly a blank surface or an ugly cavern. But the architects availed themselves of the space and inserted

arches, lavishing their ornament upon them. This is the *triforium*. The three stages, nave arcade, triforium, clerestory, are characteristic of great churches; parish churches usually have the clerestory immediately above the arcade, or, it may be, have no aisles and therefore no arcades. Norman pillars may be square, rectangular, round, according to the fancy of the builders, and often much ingenuity was expended to make no two adjoining piers alike. Monotonous regularity of round pillars may be seen at Tewkesbury, pleasant variation at Ely. The capitals are simply blocks of stone chipped on the under side into a cushion shape, and here too the builders had full scope to carve designs according to their individual sense of beauty. Most of the Norman carving was done with a hatchet, or at any rate the chisel was not frequently used till a later period, but with their hatchets the Norman artists were able to cut out very good work. Above the capital is a round or square abacus from which springs the arch. Of course, everybody knows that early Norman arches are semicircular and therefore not capable of carrying very much weight. It is usually on the arch, even more than on the capital, that we find beautiful patterns; the favourite was a sort of zigzag, which on a semicircle has a peculiarly pleasing effect. Very frequently in Norman churches the pillars give us an impression of being too thick in comparison with the arch. To get the full effect of good Norman work one has to go to such places as Ely to find perfection in the matter of proportion, for a heavy pillar certainly should have an arch with quite a wide belt of pattern to produce a good effect, and, when this is the case, the artistic effect of Norman work is undoubted, especially as the pattern of one arch or capital is very rarely exactly like that of the next one to it. The round-headed windows are single. As a rule they are more or less flush with the outer side of the wall and splayed inwards. Many of the windows, especially of parish churches, are very small. In more ambitious buildings—and amongst parish churches one may quote in this connection Iffley—the outside of the window is greatly enriched; carvings run up the sides and along the round head. Similarly the entrance arch was capable of much decoration. The doorways of St. Peter's Priory, Dunstable, and of Rochester Cathedral are extremely beautiful; the uprights of these

arches are composed of many shafts and an equal number of mouldings is carried round the head. Decoration is lavished so as to attract the eye as one enters the church and as one looks towards the chancel; there is no attempt to attract the artistic senses of the worshippers as they leave a place of worship. On the outside of the buildings Norman buttresses are flat strips running up the whole wall and of nearly equal depth the whole way. The rounded apse was still common in the Norman period, more common indeed than in the Saxon. The sanctuary itself is of the width of the nave, and round the sanctuary behind pillars and arches runs an ambulatory off which the architects of later times built side chapels. If there is a crypt, whether containing relics and tombs, or constructed conventionally as if containing relics and tombs, there is a rise from the nave floor to the chancel floor.

It may be out of place to compare cathedrals, but most people have favourites. A plebiscite would probably be divided in favour of Ely and Durham. The charm of the work is due to the absence of stiffness, which results from the diversity of shape and patterns in the arches or piers, and prevents that sense of monotony which one cannot but feel when one stands in the midst of even the most beautiful Early English work. The Norman work at Christchurch Abbey both inside and outside is also beautiful in its diversity. Both at Durham and at Christchurch we see the hand of Ralph Flambard, the minister of William Rufus, a brutal not to say godless man, but a very powerful prelate and therefore rich, and able to build good and lasting work. At Winchester the effect is somewhat disappointing because the tower is so short; when the first tower fell in 1107 the architects feared to build up the new one to such a height that would satisfy our sense of beauty. For St. Albans Abbey the last Saxon abbot collected from the ruins of Roman Verulam a mass of Roman tiles; of course, this was the labour of many years, for the hard Roman mortar had to be carefully chipped off. The first Norman abbot, a favourite and protégé of Lanfranc, built with the tiles the tower and transepts and a portion of the nave. Round-headed windows and belfry openings constructed of red tiles have a unique effect, but every lover of St. Albans simply has to grind his

teeth in impotent anger as his eye is offended by the stiff ugly work of modern restoration. Could one confine one's view to the tower and adjoining parts one would enjoy a splendid sight.

The features of late Norman work are a tendency toward lightness and more graceful proportion, a greater elaboration in the carvings of capitals and arches, and a development towards the *pointed arch*. At Great St. Bartholomew's and in the chapel of the Tower of London there are what are called "stilted" arches, the stilt being formed by compressing the extreme points of a semicircle. At Wimborne Minster in Dorset the nave piers are Norman in shape and pattern, while the arches are sharply pointed just as if they belonged to the Early English period, yet are decorated with purely Norman patterns; this is the best instance that we have in England of the transitional period of about 1175. But perhaps the most interesting object-lesson is the south-west tower of Ely Cathedral. It is built in several stories and each story shows the work a little more elaborate and developed, a little nearer from the plain early Norman towards the Early English. A feature about which there has been some discussion is the interlacing arch. The first proposition of the First Book of Euclid taught us that the way to make an equilateral triangle is to have two intersecting circles, and of course where these circles cut we get a pointed arch. Some people think that the pointed arch was suggested by the interlacing work which is very commonly seen; there are good instances in the Norman work at Glastonbury and Ely. Other authorities will not allow that the pointed arch was suggested by interlacing, but say that it was the natural outcome of a scientific determination to invent an arch which would carry greater weight than a semicircle ever could. Laymen can hardly be expected to decide where artists disagree. It is enough for us that the fact of the development of the pointed out of the round marks the transition from Norman work to Early English, and the year 1200 may be taken as the period when the pointed triumphed over the round.

The effect of lightness and grace is obtained in late Norman and transitional work by the columns being more slender and therefore more in proportion with the arches. Often in place

of one solid pier is seen a cluster of detached shafts, each bearing its share of weight, so that strength is not sacrificed, yet each helping to give an appearance of slender ease. The "Galilee" at the west entrance of Durham, dated 1175, is famous. When some of these shafts are made of Purbeck marble, to gracefulness is added colour which gives relief from monotony.

Yet great cathedrals do not speak to us of the ordinary everyday life of Norman England. We must turn to the people's churches, the parish churches, in which the villeins attended service and which they, perhaps with the help of the lord of the manor, helped to build. Much Norman work remains, yet there are few all-Norman parish churches. In every part of the country one can see the effect of rebuilding, the old Norman stones of entrance arch or chancel arch worked into a newer fabric. A few fine churches exist with but slight alterations. At Melbourne in Derbyshire is a magnificent cruciform building with elaborate detail, but Melbourne was a royal manor and thus came to have a peculiarly fine church. At Iffley near Oxford one has a sense of over-elaboration, and again in the interior of St. Peter's at Northampton. There are all-Norman churches at Barfreston between Dover and Canterbury, Stewkley in Bucks, Kilpeck in Herefordshire, Worth Matravers and Studland in Dorset; and there is the little round church at Cambridge. Sussex contributes its share. Steyning church has all its beauty inside, and a comparatively modern short and heavy tower spoils the outside appearance; one first has a sense of its beauty on entering the porch and looking through a simple yet dignified Norman doorway, and when once inside one feels completely satisfied as the eye travels over the columns and arches and on to the aisles beyond. Yet it is not what can be called a natural village church, but was reared by imported monks from Fécamp; moreover the later and larger windows contribute to make the effect pleasing, and if the original Norman windows remained one would not have light enough to appreciate fully all the beauty. Close by, at Old Shoreham, is a Norman church with central tower but plain aisleless nave; here the outside is simple and pleasing, but the interior is dark, and the plain walls and lack of light make one realise why such churches were usually taken down or altered. At

Studland and Stewkley are plain buildings wth central towers, but no transepts, and no aisles; the original windows remain, and one can fairly judge what a natural Norman parish church really was. These little round-headed windows, flush with the outer surface and splayed inside, made the villagers to worship in gloom and in a stuffy atmosphere. At Worth Matravers the church is similar, but the tower is at the west; here, however, Saxon work is incorporated in the Norman.[1] A poor battered little church at Knotting in Beds has an entirely windowless north wall and a very narrow chancel arch. In fact the more one sees of such work the less is one's surprise that, when prosperity came to a village, or when some great man felt inclined to be a benefactor, the fabric was renewed in a later style. These dark barnlike churches must have been extremely common; churches such as those of Melbourne and Steyning were exceptional, and being well built have endured or been but slightly altered.

A village church usually has a square-ended chancel and western tower. If there is a central tower, probably it was a monastic building, or was served by monks. This is not an invariable rule as the instances of Studland and Stewkley show. Yet many a Norman lord immediately on receiving his land introduced monks from his native country, and others in the succeeding centuries gave the churches on their manors to neighbouring monasteries.

[1] Mr. W. I. Travers in the *Architectural and Topographical Record*, vol. i.

Ely, South-west tower, and part of Bishop's palace

Norman parish church with narrow chancel arch; side chapel to right of much later date

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CHAPTER V

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND WALES

By travelling from one part of the country to another we are able, while tracing the development of the Norman system of castle architecture and of warfare, of arms and armour, to get at the same time plenty of the local colour which lights up the pages of history. Chepstow and Tintern, Abergavenny and the Usk Valley, delight both the eye and the historic sense, for here is the home of the long-bow archer. The fertile plain lying below Stirling, the valley of the Tweed, and all the border land, fascinate us with a constant reminder of Walter Scott and of two and a half centuries of momentous warfare. Military history takes us first to South Wales, next to North Wales, thence to the waist of Scotland where Stirling Castle towers on high, and finally to Berwick and the Border. It is a story of continuous development as the long-bow grew in favour and men learned how to combine archers with mailed horsemen; at the same time there is a continuous development of castle architecture.

We must go back for a moment to Hastings and call up to our mind's eye Harold's lines of house-carls and thegns standing along the brow of the hill, some 600 yards or a trifle more in length, while from the opposite hill Duke William sends in his infantry, short-bowmen and foot-spearmen, with the long lines of Norman and French cavalry behind them. Anglo-Danish house-carl and Norman horseman had much the same armour—a mail shirt of rings sewed upon leather, and open helmets with nose-pieces; the weapon of offence of the one was the great battle-axe, of the other a light lance used overhand, as well as the sword which each used. The Norman horses were not armoured. Duke William there triumphed by virtue of the mobility of his horse and his ability to combine the short-bow archers with the horsemen

in their successive rushes uphill, so that Harold's men were worn out after many hours of fighting, being condemned to stand on the defensive against combined attacks. A couple of generations later we find the North Country levies called out to fight under the three sacred standards of the Church at Northallerton. The broad plain of North Yorkshire lying between the Pennines and the Clevelands was a natural field of battle between the Scots and the North Country Normans and Saxons; short-bowmen and spearmen were combined on foot and had little difficulty in breaking the Scots. Another site celebrated in Anglo-Scottish warfare is Alnwick, where King William the Lion was taken captive when he slipped into the midst of his enemies under a fog. But we cannot say that any of the warfare here in the twelfth century largely influenced the development of tactics. It is to the East, the country of the Crusades, that we must look for the next step.

Since Hastings armour had been getting more elaborate and more heavy. The shirt of linked mail was now quite normal; doubtless much of the best work came from the clever armourers of North Italy, but native smiths must have imitated such work with more or less success, for all the armour used in England could not have come from Milan. To the mail shirt was attached a sort of hood in one piece, and it could be pulled up over the head; while for the further defence of the face there was the great vizored and barred helm which rested upon the shoulders. Mail leggings and spurs completed the outfit, and such was the typical armour for a good two centuries and more after Hastings. We have plenty of evidence to go by, seals and tombs, and, from Edward I's reign, brasses which can be found in our churches. One question is worthy of discussion. When we see the cross-legged figure of a knight carved in stone, are we to imagine that he was therefore a Crusader? It has been argued that men who are known never to have gone to the East are represented in this position, but, on the other hand, it is difficult to think that the attitude is merely conventional—that is to say, that sculptors depicted a knight cross-legged just because it was the usual thing to do. There seems to be some meaning in the attitude, and, in the case of those who never went on a crusade, it may be at least argued that they may have sent a substitute, or have promised to take the Cross.

It must be remembered that the Crusades lasted to the end of the fourteenth century,[1] and included wars, not only for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, but also against the Mohammedans of North Africa and Spain, the heathen of Prussia, or the heretics of South France. Inferior horsemen, retainers and men-at-arms, doubtless in place of mail wore much boiled leather. During the same two centuries horse-armour was introduced and became heavier and heavier. The weapon of offence was either the great cross-hilted sword, or the heavy tilting lance couched under the arm. Meanwhile levies of infantry were absolutely despised, and the short-bow, in spite of its usefulness at Hastings and at Northallerton, had got no repute. In Palestine the Turkish bowmen caused such leaders as Cœur de Lion to organise corps of cross-bowmen, but it is safe to say that the cross-bow never caught on as an English weapon. It was simply the arm of mercenaries, and all details that we have about the cross-bowmen show us that their numbers in England were comparatively small. They have the honour of being mentioned and condemned in Magna Carta, being the foreign mercenaries of the detested John. When we come to the campaigns of Simon de Montfort we find that all the fighting in pitched battle fell upon the mounted knights and men-at-arms.[2]

But in a corner were sown the seeds of future development, namely in South Wales. We have seen how William I gave special powers to the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury and a great liberty of action as "earls palatine." When Henry I suppressed Robert of Bellême he appointed no other baron to take his place as Earl of Shrewsbury for fear of weakening the power of the Crown, but the palatine rights of the Earls of Chester lasted into the reign of Henry III. Their duty was to try to conquer the North Welsh, but they never did conquer them. An outlying fortress west of Chester we have already mentioned, viz. Rhuddlan, and further west again, about the reign of King John, a fortress was erected on the right bank of the River Conway at Deganwy on two natural mottes. But this stretch of country between the Dee and

[1] Chaucer's Knight crusaded in Spain and Prussia; Henry of Bolingbroke, in exile, went to Prussia.

[2] *Homo ad arma*, just as *miles*, is a fully armed and armoured horseman.

the Conway—it is called the "middle" country as being between these two rivers, but otherwise it is the extreme north of Wales and anything but middle—was never thoroughly conquered, and Edward I had to begin his campaign from the very walls of Chester. On the marches of Middle Wales the Mortimers gradually grew to be the most important family, and we find them possessed in Henry III's reign of several castles—Wigmore, Builth, Cefn-Llys, Dolforwyn,[1] and others; but Montgomery was in royal hands. Clun and Oswestry were in the same reign held by the Fitzalans, who had now obtained also the earldom of Arundel. But there was no conquest beyond the border into the heart of Mid Wales.

Thus it is in South Wales that we find the chief Norman advance. Rufus allowed Robert fitz Hamon to invade Glamorgan, and Henry I allowed Gilbert fitz Richard of the great house of Clare to invade Cardigan. Arnulf of Montgomery, brother of Robert of Bellême, held Pembroke and erected a mound castle there. Many minor barons followed in their wake, such as the Braoses of Bramber. These kings devised a cheap and safe method of conquering the breezy, independent, mountain-loving Welsh, whose ancestors had defied alike both Roman and Saxon. Whatever these Normans could conquer by the sword, and hold by the sword, that they might consider their personal property unfettered by feudal restraints. Thus the Norman love of unrestrained adventure was satisfied, and Norman ambition was diverted into South Wales instead of becoming dangerous to the King at home in England. But a new danger grew up. As years went by these "lords marchers," as they were called, claimed the right to enjoy their lands in South Wales regardless of the King's authority. This they called the "Custom of the March." To many a great baron his manors in England were of much less value than his march lands; the King was his over-lord in England and he was fettered by feudal customs, but out west he claimed to be undisputed master of what he or his ancestors had won. To speak roughly, we may say that such a lord marcher was an earl palatine upon

[1] Some of the Mortimer castles are exceptions to the general rule as to position: Cefn Llys is very high and in a lonely country, and royal Montgomery stands on an almost precipitous cliff.

a small scale ; or we may put it the other way, that an earl palatine was only a superior marcher lord. The lord of Glamorgan, for instance, though never actually styled earl palatine, was always one of the greatest potentates in the island.

Thus in the pleasant country of South Wales—a country which even modern industrialism has not quite destroyed for the lover of scenery, for beautiful strips of green yet lie between and around the hideous, though commercially valuable, coal-begrimed black districts—we see a ceaseless struggle between the invaders and the natives. The Normans show all their love of battle, of adventure, and of domination ; they plan their castles, first those of the simple mound-and-court type, then their stone keeps ; the Welsh cling to their hills, and ever love to swoop down upon the castles to effect by surprise what their lack of siege artillery prevented them from effecting by investment. Abergavenny Castle, the stronghold of the Braoses, is on a low rising ground above the River Usk, surrounded by a plain which, in its turn, is ringed in with mountains. Such a situation the Normans loved, for their aim was to command the river and the plain, and to have built high up would have argued weakness. The busy little town of Abergavenny and the present state of the castle ruins, which are in a pleasure-ground and are spoilt by the addition of a sham keep, prevent us from picturing these old days on the spot. But let us climb one of the hills, see how all the modern roads converge on the place, and there call up to the imagination a band of breezy Welshmen mustering in the folds of the uplands for one of their lightning swoops upon the castle. Then we have before us the essentials of the Norman-Welsh struggle. This district of the middle Usk is known as Upper Gwent, and the men of Gwent were celebrated for their love of liberty and for their use of a rough but powerful bow of elm-wood long before the battle of Crécy. Much trouble did they give to the Braoses before they were finally subdued, but, when subdued, were most valuable allies on the English side. Their bow was the true long-bow, not drawn to the chest and aimed high into the air as was the short-bow at Hastings, but drawn to the ear and, if used at a short range, aimed point blank. How do we know this ? Because the Hastings bow could never be developed to pierce

mail, but the Gwent bow grew in favour and efficiency up to the standard of Crécy and Poitiers.

Lower Gwent is the coastland between the Usk and the Wye, and here was the grand castle of Chepstow. The senior branch of the Clares lost the lands assigned to them in Cardigan by Henry I, but the junior branch established themselves at Chepstow and at Pembroke,[1] in the two opposite corners of South Wales. On a cliff above the beautiful Wye, famed both in science and in poetry for its high tide, half a dozen miles down-stream from Tintern, first William fitz Osbern threw up a mound, and, alongside, a hall; here was the home of Richard of Clare, the celebrated Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke and Chepstow. From the castle a tongue of land falls parallel to the river, and a ravine separates it from the little town of Chepstow. It seems at first sight that this is a violation of the rule that Normans built low down; but the choice of this site was clearly influenced by the wish to have a wide view over the river and the opposite bank. From Chepstow we can see not only the pleasant valley of the Wye, but also the coast of Ireland, for it was from Chepstow that Strongbow marched to Pembroke to invade Ireland on the invitation of Diarmid, or Dermot, of Leinster. He and his companions, who were lords marchers like himself, yet not such big landed proprietors, took over a little force which at first amounted to barely 300 Norman mailed horse and 2000 foot, but these foot were recruited from the champion archers of Gwent. The Irish, and the Danes who had long been settled in Ireland, went down in battle before the combination of Norman lance and sword with the Welsh elm-wood bow. The chronicler Gerald Barry, otherwise Giraldus Cambrensis, being of mixed Welsh and Norman blood, records with a sense of triumph these victories in which his kinsmen shared. *Semper arcarii militaribus turmis mixtim adjiciantur* is his text. The result was that Norman mound castles began to spring up in Ireland likewise. Perhaps one of the mysteries of military history is that Strongbow's method of warfare in Ireland, his successful combination of horsemen and bowmen, was not followed elsewhere.

To finish off the picture of Chepstow, let us remember that

[1] Arnulf of Montgomery was involved in the downfall of Bellême and lost Pembroke.

Strongbow's heiress married and brought all his Welsh and Irish possessions to William the Marshal. Thus from Chepstow we can see more than Ireland; we can see the streets of Lincoln, where the loyal Marshal beat Louis of France and saved England from a French king. When all his six sons died childless, the inheritance was divided amongst the descendants of his daughters. Chepstow and the marshalship went to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, grandson of his eldest daughter; Pembroke fell to a foreigner, William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III, who married a grand-daughter.

About the same time, by lack of heirs male, the march lands of the Braose family were also divided. Abergavenny fell to the family of Hastings; Brecknock to the Bohuns, who held the earldoms of Hereford and Essex besides the hereditary constableship; and Builth to the Mortimers. One of the Braose castles deserves special mention. In Richard I's reign Pain's Castle was attacked by Gwenwynwyn, Prince of Powys. The neighbouring lords, helped by Geoffrey fitz Peter, the Chief Justiciar of England, came to Braose's rescue, a pitched battle was fought, and Gwenwynwyn was worsted. This, which we might almost call a petty local squabble, has its literary interest, for it forms the basis of Scott's historical romance, *The Betrothed.* Pain's Castle is obviously Scott's "Castle of Garde Douloureuse." He has hit off finely the spirit of Norman and Welshman when opposed in war, chivalry confronted by impetuosity. Pain's Castle stands up brilliantly green from the bottom of a valley below an amphitheatre of lonely sheep-trodden hills. It is quite a typical mound-and-court castle of the earliest Norman type, but it has no subsequent history.

The senior branch of the Clares regained their power in South Wales when Richard the sixth Earl of Clare married the heiress of Glamorgan and Gloucester, and his son became Earl of Gloucester in right of his mother. When we add to these lands the older possessions of Clare and Tonbridge,[1] it is clear that the family was powerful beyond measure. They owed to the Crown the service of 455 knights. Richard the eighth Earl was a leader of the barons against Henry III, and thought himself far more important than Simon de Montfort. His son, Earl Gilbert the Red, fought on Simon's side at

[1] See p. 184.

Lewes, on the King's side at Evesham, supporting either Simon or the King according as his own interest dictated, as if he was an independent potentate, able to turn the balance of power from one side to the other at his will. Probably he regarded his march lands of Glamorgan more highly than even his earldom of Gloucester or his castles at Clare and Tonbridge. In Glamorgan he had his own sheriff, his own great seal, his court to which his tenants and vassals had to come for justice and from which he claimed that no appeal could be made to the King of England. He claimed even the right to appoint to the bishopric of Llandaff. His chief castle was at Cardiff, but there are very many castles throughout Glamorgan.

The various civil wars and troubles in England caused by the tyranny of John and the weakness of Henry III so weakened both King and baronage that the Welsh profited enormously. The home of true Welsh independence is the land of Gwynedd, or Snowdonia. From this mountain stronghold, where there was no need for great castles, because the range was itself an impenetrable castle, Llewelyn the Great reconquered a great deal of land at the expense of the lords marchers and made alliance with the barons against King John. His grandson, Llewelyn the Last, was the ally of Simon against Henry III. Civil war in England benefited the Welsh patriots, even as the civil troubles under Edward I and Edward II benefited Wallace and Bruce. There is a racial distinction between the North and South Welsh; Plynlimmon and the mountains of the waist of Wales which lie about the head waters of the Severn and the Wye make a barrier between North and South. The Northerners grew corn, the Southerners raised sheep. Even as fighters the men of these districts were different. Llewelyn's Northerners were foot spearmen, while we know that the men of Gwent and Glamorgan were mostly bowmen. The North had to be conquered when Edward I began the task by means of a very great effort, and the whole of the might of England had to be put forth; not only had the South been conquered by the lords marchers, but the men of Glamorgan and Gwent fought on Edward's side against Llewelyn.

Edward's first war was in 1277. There was no pitched battle, though doubtless there were plenty of skirmishes of which there is no record. He set out from Chester with an

army which mustered at its greatest 1000 mailed horsemen and 15,000 English and South Welsh foot. The horsemen were some of them doing feudal duty, some taking the King's pay ; it is just at this period that we find the feudal system beginning to break down as a means of raising cavalry for war, and the system of pay becoming ordinary. Also a custom had been growing up, and was fixed under Edward I, that a feudal baron should bring to the King's army only a proportion of the knights that he owed, but should serve for the whole war. For instance, Gloucester, in lieu of 455 milites, or "knights," in the sense of the word as understood by William I, i.e. ordinary horsemen,[1] brought 15 dubbed knights, to whom must be added 45 or 60 of the other kind. English foot, partly spearmen, partly bowmen, were raised from the counties near Wales, according to the custom of the time—Lancaster, of which Edward's brother Edmund was Earl ; Chester, which was now held by Edward himself ; Shropshire and Herefordshire ; also from Notts and Derby, though not touching Wales, but we expect the home of Robin Hood to produce good soldiers.[2] But out of the 15,000 at least 9000 were Welshmen from South Wales, including the archers of Gwent. There were only 300 cross-bowmen in the whole army. With these men Edward cut his way through the forests along the west bank of the Dee and the north coast of Wales. The Welsh tactics were always to avoid pitched battle and to make surprise attacks from their forests upon

[1] See above, p. 164 and 165.

[2] It is difficult to give a date to Robin Hood. The first mention of him in literature is in *Piers Plowman* in 1380.

"But I kan rymes of Robyn Hode and Randolf Earl of Chester." The next century Sir John Paston kept a servant "to pleye Seint Jorge and Robyn Hod and the Shryf of Notyngham." Ballads connect him with a King Edward, not with Richard ; archery had not gained its great repute under Richard, and Scott commits an anachronism in depicting "bills and bows" as the national English weapons then. After the defeat of Simon de Montfort the sheriff of Nottingham sent a force of horsemen into Sherwood, where they fought the King's enemies, i.e. outlawed Montfortians. In all the wars of the three Edwards levies of archers constantly came from Notts. The late Mr. Joseph Hunter found an adherent of Thomas of Lancaster named Robin Hood, who afterwards became a servant of Edward II. Pardoned poachers from Sherwood fought at Halidon Hill in 1333. At any one of these periods may have lived a champion archer whose feats became legendary. Those who visit Sherwood would be sorry not to believe that Robin Hood was a real man, but his date has not yet been located.

the baggage-encumbered English army. Hence the hewing down of forests was deliberately a part of Edward's plan of campaign. A fleet came round from the Cinque Ports and took a division of Edward's army over to Anglesey. Llewelyn, confronted by the King and threatened in the rear by this division in Anglesey, held the block of mountains west of the Conway, of which Penmaenmawr is the loftiest, but after five months from the opening of hostilities he gave way and came to terms. He ceded all the " middle " country between the Conway and the Dee, also Cardigan and Caermarthen in the south.

Now comes a period of castle building. A new style had come in which is called " Edwardian," though of a slightly earlier date. Architects were now copying the plans of the Crusaders in Palestine. They did not often rebuild and patch up the older castles, but preferred entirely new sites. The River Clwyd 600 years ago evidently formed a marshy and impassable delta. Here can be seen three stages of castle-building. The first Norman mound stands up above the Clwyd ; the ruins of a late Norman castle, of the period of Henry II and John, may be seen three miles off on higher ground away from the river, a situation which seems to argue fear of the Welsh and a need to fortify for defence against them rather than a policy of aggression and offence ; now in 1277 the royal architect, James of St. George, returned to the river bank and planned a new work a quarter of a mile away from the Norman mound, so as to dominate the river just where the delta of morass begins. He built a small strong fortress of the new type, rectangular, with a very wide moat upon three sides and the river upon the fourth, a low wall at the inner edge of the moat, a square hollow citadel in the centre, and an outlying small tower lower down on the water. Such was the castle of Rhuddlan, all of one piece and one design. The style is called " concentric," but really we see a square within a square. The towers are round and placed in a peculiar way ; at the N.W. and S.E. angles they are in pairs with gates between ; at the N.E. and S.W. angles they are single ; and there are none on the curtain walls between. A little town of English settlers was planted on the north side of the castle, and I am told that even to-day most of the dwellers in Rhuddlan have English names. But this was not

all. The River Clwyd was canalised for navigation, and a small harbour and a quay were constructed, so that the place should be both a naval and a military base; and the outline of the harbour can be traced to-day in a field near the present bridge. A castle was also erected at the same time at Flint, and another at Aberystwyth on Cardigan Bay, alongside of the ruins of which now stand the University buildings.

In South Wales, just before or after this campaign of 1277, the lords marchers set to work to rebuild their old battered castles or to build new ones. Pain of Chaworth rebuilt Kidwelly Castle, a fine specimen of the "concentric" kind. Being on a steep river bank, it did not require a powerful wall on that side. The inner citadel is three sides of a square. The outer wall is nearly a semicircle, and there are four hollow semicircular towers on it; the great keep and gateway stand where it strikes the river. The object of making the towers hollow is evident; if an enemy were to carry the outer wall they would still be under the "fire" of arrows from the inner wall. The round, loopholed face turned towards the enemy gave the garrison a good view, and enabled them to shoot at the flank of an attack. Such a castle requires to be seen; a description in words does not do justice to the strength of the place. The site also is very picturesque, and the bright grey stone has a fine effect against the surrounding green. The little town of Kidwelly had its own wall and a great gate.

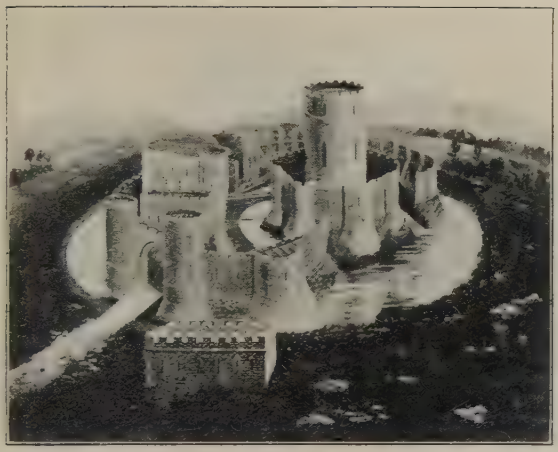
Gilbert of Gloucester about the same date began to erect a much larger and more pretentious castle at Caerphilly in Glamorgan, eight miles north of Cardiff. It is all on one plan, but must have taken many years to finish. In a plain alongside a small brook was a slight natural rising ground. The architect drove two trenches through this at right angles to the brook, then dammed the water, and thus created three islands. The easternmost island was covered with some tremendously strong and lofty masonry, so that the water could be controlled. On the middle island was erected a "concentric," but as a matter of fact very nearly square, inner double castle; the gateway and towers and walls of the eastern face are much stronger than those on the west, and one has an impression that the whole castle was built from the east, lack of time or money making the western work less ambitious. The third and westernmost island was simply

walled. The greatness of the design and of the area shows that Earl Gilbert was thinking rather of defying his King than of protecting himself against the Welsh. The ruins are very massive and impressive, but ugly. They are a monument of one of England's proudest earls who tried to defy Edward I, overreached himself, and died saddened and embittered after his King had humbled him to the dust. Caerphilly has practically no after-history. There was some trouble when, after the death of the last of the Clares at Bannockburn, Edward II married one of his sisters and co-heiresses to that hated favourite, Hugh the Despenser, but otherwise we know nothing at all about Caerphilly. We read of no siege during the Wars of the Roses or the Great Rebellion, but the Roundheads got hold of it at some time or other and blew up some part of it. One tower at the present day is tilted, for the gunpowder was unable to destroy it completely.

Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and hereditary Marshal through his grandmother, the daughter of William the Marshal, had no need to build a new castle; he simply added to the Norman fortress at Chepstow an extra enclosure falling down-hill to the river bank. The Edwardian additions to Corfe Castle are of a similar type, a great inner gateway between two massive round towers which the Roundheads' gunpowder could only split but not overthrow, and a wall with similar massive towers at intervals which surrounded all the lower half of the hill.

Space does not allow us to go through all the castles, but Builth is too interesting to be left out. A natural hillock had been converted into a mound-and-horseshoe court of the ordinary Norman type by one of the Braose family, and it had descended to the Mortimers. Prince Llewelyn seized the place and destroyed whatever castle stood there. When Edward I's army occupied the site, the King claimed that Mortimer had forfeited it and by right of reconquest he kept it for himself. A new royal castle was erected on the hill, and we have minute details of it preserved in the royal accounts.[1] On top of the mound was erected a solid tower; below it and ringing in the mound was a wall with six little towers, probably hollow and semicircular. Half the outer court was

[1] Details of the building or repairing of royal castles abound; of baronial castles we know next to nothing as the bills are non-existent.



Builth Castle, built on an old mound-and-court in 1278: restored from documentary evidence.

Rhuddlan Castle and Port, North Wales: dating from 1278

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walled in with stone, and there were built the great hall, kitchen, stables, and a gateway with a turn-table bridge. The other half, cut off by a cross-ditch, was merely stockaded with wood. The thing to be noticed particularly is that here we have the "concentric" method applied to an old site; in place of a shell keep there was planted a solid tower on top and a lower wall round it.

The second Welsh war was fought out to the bitter end after fifteen months of continuous fighting. In March, 1282, David surprised Hawarden Castle; neither the present appearance of Hawarden, nor its political associations, are suggestive of grim war. The sites of the two chief events merit description. So strong were the Welsh that Edward from his base at Rhuddlan was not ready till November to cross the Conway. A fleet from the Cinque Ports, forty-two ships in all, carried some horse and foot under Luke Tany from the new harbour of Rhuddlan to Anglesey, and then a bridge of boats was constructed between the island and the mainland. One needs to know the place to understand what happened. The currents in the Menai are so powerful that a bridge of boats could not possibly be thrown across, and the site must be sought considerably to the east of the straits between Beaumaris and Aber, where at low tide such a vast expanse of sand is exposed that only a comparatively narrow stretch of water required to be spanned. It is clear what Edward was intending to do. While he himself came up to the Conway River from Rhuddlan to attack Llewelyn in front, Tany was to bring his division across the bridge of boats and carry the Penmaenmawr position in rear. But, either because he was in a hurry to have all the glory for himself, or in a spirit of treachery because just then peace negotiations were being discussed, Tany crossed, before Edward gave him the word, with 300 horse and some foot. Llewelyn burst upon him from the forests when he reached the mainland; then the tide came up and cut him off from his bridge. The whole force was destroyed, and with Tany himself fell young Roger Clifford and Alexander Lindsay of Kendal.

Edward was seriously upset by this defeat but determined to fight on through the winter. A body of 1500 of his war-loving subjects from Gascony came to reinforce him—200

horse and 1300 foot—and all of them were cross-bowmen. Meanwhile Llewelyn dashed off into the middle marches to rouse the Welsh around Builth. Welsh historians always say that there was treachery and talk of " the traitors of Builth," yet who exactly the traitors were does not appear. The English garrison of the castle could hardly be called traitors if they refused to admit a Welsh prince, and the men of the district were not traitors because they rose at Llewelyn's call. An English force, led by Roger l'Estrange of Shropshire, Edmund and Roger Mortimer, and John Giffard who was constable of Builth Castle for the King, was on the flat south bank of the River Yrfon, a tributary of the Wye, three miles up-stream from Builth. Llewelyn's Welshmen on the steep, curving north bank prevented them from crossing either by ford or wooden bridge. But the Prince himself went off to raise reinforcements, and in his absence the English found another ford higher up-stream where they crossed unseen behind a bend. Thus they turned the position. The Welsh fell back to the hills and defended themselves with desperation, though their Prince was absent. Some English horse worked round their rear; English archers, interlaced with horse, broke them in in front. Hearing the noise of battle Llewelyn rushed up, but he was without armour and was run through by an English spearman who had not the remotest notion who he was; only when the victory was complete, and the bodies of the slain were being examined, was it found out that the patriot Prince was no more. It is somewhat aggravating that, while we have plenty of information about the campaign in other parts of Wales, the royal accounts give us no detailed information of this battle. We do not know the strength of l'Estrange's army, nor whether he had English troops only, or South Welsh allies as well. But, from the chronicler's account, it appears to have been a genuine English victory, and there cannot be any doubt that about this time the English bowmen, profiting by the experience they had learnt in these very wars, were beginning to be efficient. L'Estrange reported to Edward, " Ke Leweln le finz Griffin est mort et se gent desconfit et tote la flour de se gent morz," and the description suggests a battle rather than a skirmish.

During the winter and spring Edward with his Gascons and English and South Welsh, mostly split up into small bodies,

pierced into Snowdonia. He crossed the Conway River at Bettws-y-coed, a spot beloved by tourists and artists, and laid siege to the little Welsh castle of Dolwyddelan, which stands on a plateau at the head of a tremendously deep gorge and behind which towers the main ridge of Snowdon. Then from several bases, from Conway and Harlech, from Bangor and Caernarvon, which were occupied by the division from Anglesey, he sent flying corps into the mountains. David, Llewelyn's brother, was a double traitor. He had at first opposed Llewelyn and taken the English side. When he found that he did not get enough out of Edward, he had led on Llewelyn to revolt in March, 1282. He evidently did not command the devotion of the Welsh as his brother had done, and he was now finally run to earth and surrendered by some of his own men in the June of 1283.

The whole of Wales was now annexed to the English Crown. New royal castles were at once planted at Conway and Caernarvon. These are not "concentric," but designed on what one might call a rival plan of architecture. Each is something between an oblong and an oval in shape, with very high and solid single walls and massive towers at intervals. In this period of architecture there is not such a thing as a keep. Conway Castle occupies exactly an outcrop of rock on the left bank of the river, so that no moat was needed, and it would be absolutely impossible to undermine the walls; the gate defences are extremely elaborate and able to defy a surprise. If anyone wishes to see a literally impregnable castle, he should visit Conway. Its towers are eight in number, arranged in pairs opposite each other along the north and south walls, and are all of them round. Caernarvon Castle is quite low and almost on the water's edge. Its eight towers are at uneven intervals and are many-sided. It appears as if two chief architects were carrying out the same general idea, each according to his lights and with difference in detail. The Eagle Tower at Caernarvon is said to have seen the birth of Edward II, who was presented to the Welsh while an infant as "Your Prince who cannot speak a word of English." The latter part of the story is mythical, for he was not created by his father Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester until he was eighteen years old. But that he was born in that tower seems clear. Some authorities have stated that

he could not have been born there, for he built it himself when King. But this statement is not exact; he did not build the tower but only the top story of it, and his birthplace is pointed out on the first floor.[1] Caernarvon was the capital of the annexed districts, the head-quarters of the Justiciar of North Wales, and seat of the Exchequer. As at Rhuddlan, round each English castle in Wales grew up a little town with an English population, and the constable of the castle was by right of his office mayor of the town. The idea that these great fortresses were always manned by garrisons large enough to occupy every tower and every loophole cannot be borne out. The permanent garrison of Caernarvon in time of peace was only forty men, that of Conway thirty. On the west coast was built the Castle of Harlech on top of a cliff whose foot in those days was washed by the sea—it is now about two miles away from the sea—and is on the "concentric" plan. The inner citadel is very lofty and nearly square, with a great round tower at each angle and a gateway with towers in the landward face, but the outer wall is low. The architect of Harlech was the same James of St. George who built Rhuddlan and later on Beaumaris.

We go back again now to South Wales where the aforementioned Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert the Red, had before himself the policy of defying Edward and showing him that the great marcher lords, having helped him to conquer Llewelyn, were not going to let him have his will over them. The Earl meant the King to see that he was as good a man, and once entertained him as if a brother-sovereign. The crisis came when he raided the lands of the Earl of Hereford, and built a small castle,[2] Castell Coch, on the debatable land between Glamorgan and Brecknock. A poor and thinly populated country was the scene of several fights. Goaded at last by repeated defiance and disobedience, Edward put his foot down and determined to suppress once for all the right which the lords marchers claimed to fight each other as they chose.

[1] The late Sir Llewelyn Turner thoroughly restored Caernarvon Castle, so that it now appears much as it was in old days. He also brought out a guide-book, a model of what such books ought to be and rarely are.

[2] Mr. George Clarke identified it with the castle of Morlais above Merthyr. But Castell Coch further up in the wild country of Brecknock seems more probable, as it is near the place where the King's judges investigated the case and took evidence.

Gloucester in the long run was cowed, imprisoned and fined, but ultimately allowed to resume his lands and earldom. He died shortly, a wiser and sadder man. But Hereford, who had been in the right all along, was also fined and imprisoned, and lived to nurse a grudge against his King. It is not too much to say that in this out-of-the-way corner of the marches, a corner even to-day occupied by but a few scattered sheep-farms, was the ground where the seed was sown of one of the most important political and constitutional struggles in all our history, and what happened at Castell Coch helped to confirm the work of Runnymede.

When Edward had troubles with France the North Welsh seized the occasion to revolt in 1294. We must picture him countermanding the troops ordered for France, calling up in haste whatever men could be speedily raised in the west of England, and with them pushing on to save the various beleaguered castles. Builth and Harlech were blockaded by the Welsh; Caernarvon was captured, for the castle was open towards the town. Edward himself reached Conway and was there besieged. The Welsh had not the remotest chance of capturing the fortress by storm, but provisions ran short and the King, it would appear, was relieved only just in time. The Earl of Warwick, pushing on as fast as possible, surprised the main Welsh body some fifteen miles south of Conway. Usually the Welsh, true to their guerrilla tactics, lurked upon the flanks of an English army and refused pitched battle. On this occasion Warwick by quick marching compelled them to fight. The English mailed horse were quite unable to break the Welsh spearmen who met them in solid phalanx, but Warwick brought up his archers and riddled them at long range, and then the horse charged again and completed the victory. Again we are annoyed to find no details of this battle in the royal accounts; in fact in medieval history we can but rarely find authoritative figures for any particular battle. This victory and that of Builth are of enormous importance in military history, for, owing to them, the long-bow became fixed as the best English weapon. Edward gradually reconquered the country. Caernarvon Castle, apparently not much damaged by the Welsh, was strengthened and completed by a new wall and ditch facing the town, and the town was also ringed in with a complete

wall. A new castle, the last of the royal series in Wales, was planned at Beaumaris on the shore of Anglesey, looking across to Aber, where in 1282 Tany had made his bridge of boats and had been defeated by Llewelyn. Beaumaris Castle is on the same plan but much loftier and more massive than Rhuddlan and Harlech. It stands to-day a little back from the high-water line; but in 1295 the sea came up to the main gate, and a wall was thrown out at right-angles to form a quay.

The lands of Denbigh were given by Edward to the Earl of Lincoln, Henry Lacy. The Castle of Denbigh stands very high; to the south is so precipitous a fall that a slight wall was sufficient, but very strong defences and towers stand just above the northern slope. There is only one ring of wall, and the main gateway and many-sided keep are combined. The wall of the town is connected with the northern castle wall, and runs half-way down the hill. The scheme is unusual. Dinas Bran, erected by John of Warenne, Earl of Surrey, is another marcher castle of North Wales of this reign. Ruthin, the seat of Lord Grey, is modernised like Hawarden.

There are just a few native Welsh castles. Dolwyddelan and Dolbadarn are in the district of Snowdon. They are quite small, mere towers with weak outworks, but in a difficult country. In a combe in the heart of Cader Idris are the ruins of Bere Castle. In South Wales there is a group of three: Dynevor and Dryslwyn are on the Towy, and Caer Cennin is five miles away on the other side of a ridge of hills, but both Dynevor and Caer Cennin are loftily posted eagles' nests and can signal to each other across the intermediate hills.

The greatest hero of the subsequent history of Wales is of course Owen Glendower. One cannot attribute to him any one particular place which will call up memories of his career. His spirit seems to haunt the whole of Wales. He did not win independence, but was never conquered and finally seems rather to pass out of history than to die. The Wars of the Roses concern Wales very much. "The March of the Men of Harlech" is supposed to have been composed at that period. The Mortimer family became the senior branch of the royal family, when Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married Edmund Mortimer; their granddaughter married into the family of York, and was the grandmother

of Edward IV. Meanwhile the Lancastrians had added estate to estate and earldom to earldom. Edmund, younger brother of Edward I, began it when his father created him Earl of Lancaster; this became a palatine county, then a duchy, and to-day the King of England is Duke of Lancaster and the duchy has its own chancellor. Next Edmund received the earldom and lands of Leicester, forfeited by Simon de Montfort the earldom and lands of Derby, forfeited by the rebel Robert Ferrars; and the march lands of Monmouth, White Castle, Skenfrith, and Grosmont. Thomas by marriage secured the earldom of Lincoln, Henry the march lands of Kidwelly. Thus Blanche of Lancaster brought to her husband, John of Gaunt, a duchy and three earldoms, besides Monmouth and Kidwelly; John himself received from Edward III both Pevensey and Hastings. Their son, Henry IV, marrying the co-heiress of the Bohuns, added the three earldoms of Hereford and Essex and Northampton, and the marches of Brecknock and Haverfordwest. When Henry V was born at Monmouth that land had been in the Lancastrian family some 120 years; thus he could say in chaff to Fluellen, "For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman," and received Fluellen's answer that "All the water in Wye cannot wash Your Majesty's Welsh plood out of your pody." Also, "the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth" are famous. Finally the Beauforts came to represent the House of Lancaster, and Margaret Beaufort married Edmund Tudor.

It resulted that, when Henry VII was finally King of England, all the wide Lancastrian march lands, Monmouth, Kidwelly, Brecknock, and so on, were his by inheritance; all the Mortimer lands around Radnor and in Shropshire and Herefordshire were his by confiscation from the House of York. Then Henry VIII did what Edward I had designed but had failed to do. He completely suppressed march privileges and divided all Wales into counties. Cardiganshire and Caermarthenshire had been shired by Edward I in 1277; Llewelyn's principality of North Wales had been divided into Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth in 1283; Henry VIII now created eight counties, naming seven of them from the chief castle in each but retaining the old name of Glamorgan. Thus the present geographical distribution of Wales is a standing memorial of the power of Tudor

rule. Monmouthshire was made part of England. Edward II had on one occasion only summoned members to Parliament from North Wales; Anglesey had returned six Welshmen, and Beaumaris two Englishmen; Caernarvonshire six Welshmen, and Caernarvon and Conway each two Englishmen; Merioneth five Welshmen. But Henry VIII regularly summoned members. The boroughs, each sending one member, were Beaumaris, Caernarvon (Conway being passed over), Denbigh, Flint (which under Edward I was vastly less important than Rhuddlan), Montgomery, Radnor, Brecon, Cardigan, Pembroke and Haverfordwest, Caermarthen, Cardiff, and Monmouth. Merioneth, therefore, had no borough and Pembrokeshire had two. Likewise Henry VIII was the first to summon members from the county palatine of Chester and the borough of Chester, and from the boroughs of the county palatine of Lancaster.

Under Henry VIII the Council of Wales became very strong, and naturally so, for Mary being Princess of Wales required advisers. To this Court was allotted the task of stopping disorder of all kinds, from rebellion to highway robbery, not only in Wales but in the adjoining counties of England, and it had to stamp out the smouldering ashes of disaffection amongst the lords marchers who resented the suppression of their rights. It was in fact a sort of Star Chamber for Wales and the border. Like the Star Chamber it was very useful, but had the power to become tyrannical. It was broken up by the Long Parliament, and Charles II tried in vain to restore it. It met at Ludlow or Bridgnorth or Shrewsbury. Ludlow Castle is in a delightful position overhanging the Teme, and dates from Norman days, but it has no history until it came by marriage to the Mortimers and from them to the Crown. It has gained its place in literature because Milton's *Comus* was acted here.

CHAPTER VI

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

HISTORICAL interest travels from Wales to Scotland. The conquest of the one was no sooner complete than Edward I became involved in a dispute concerning the other, and the tactics of the Welsh wars were applied in a new country. Stirling castle is the very centre and the focus of Scottish patriotism. It saw the first exploits of William Wallace and was one of the last places attacked by Prince Charlie. Its importance in history is very easily explained. Situated on a rock overlooking the twisting and twining Forth at a point where the tide is still felt, it guarded the first bridge over that river. What London is to the Thames, Rochester to the Medway, Gloucester to the Severn, Stirling is to the Forth. It is a stronghold protecting a bridge, and therefore the centre of a road system. The municipal crest of Stirling at the present day is a bridge. The rock is some 350 feet high and gives the impression of a wedge lying on its side. The town climbs the slope and the castle crowns the top. There are many similar rocks in that part of Scotland and the position of Edinburgh is similar, but that particular rock was the centre of Scottish history because of the adjoining bridge. From almost every point of the compass Stirling Castle dominates the scenery. From it we have a fine view up and down the Forth along the waist of Scotland, a wide fertile belt of lowland known as the *carse*, the lower Ochils bounding our vision to the north, and such celebrated peaks as Ben Ledi and Ben Lomond far away to the north-west and west. The whole of the country of the *Lady of the Lake* there lies before us. A few miles off is the ford across which Fitz-James carried the wounded Roderick Dhu, and in the distant blue hills just this side of Ben Ledi was the chase which led to Fitz-James's adventures. In the palace of Stirling, within

the castle walls, the King "laid the chain in Ellen's hand." Yet on near view the castle of Stirling is very disappointing. The palace still stands, but the parliament house has been much disfigured; a mere stump of the old gateway remains, and very little of the original walls, for General Monk battered the castle before he took it. Just like Edinburgh Castle and Berwick, Stirling has suffered by having a continuous military life right up to the eighteenth century, and its defences were altered and adapted for the needs of artillery. Therefore it is from a distance that Stirling is so imposing.

Wallace had in 1297 taken up his position in the forests around the foot of the Abbey Crag. A portion of an English force from Stirling crossed on horseback the narrow wooden bridge of that day, and then Wallace fell upon them from ambush and cut them to pieces.[1] It was hardly a battle, for there was no main English army in Scotland then; it was rather the defeat of a garrison. But the results were as momentous as though there had been a battle on a large scale. A panic fell upon all the English garrisons in Scotland, and Wallace captured place after place, in fact all but Berwick and Roxburgh. Also he lit a flame of national resistance. The effect on English history was equally great. At the moment Edward I was in Flanders, and the turbulent barons, Hereford and Norfolk at their head, were demanding the Confirmation of the Charters, Hereford in particular having now the chance of satisfying the grudge which he had been nursing ever since Edward had imprisoned and fined him after his private war with Gloucester in South Wales.[2] England was on the verge of civil war. Suddenly like a bolt from the blue came this news of Wallace's victory at Stirling. As the Parthians in defeating Crassus did more than they knew, for they gave to Rome civil war, so Wallace in a different sense did more than he knew when by his victory at Stirling he secured the Confirmation of the Charters. Edward confirmed in Flanders, and hurried home to come to terms with his barons and march up to Scotland. Thus, if one may

[1] The chroniclers, being clerics, named the battle from Cambuskenneth Abbey which was the nearest religious house that they knew. But the abbey was within a narrow loop of the Forth where no troops could have room to move, and no bridge led to it.

[2] See above, p. 220.

Vale of Forth; Abbey Craig and Stirling; Wallace's Victory on near side of Stirling, battlefield of Bannockburn beyond

The Tweed, Norham Castle

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harp yet once again on the old string, the sedgy flats of Runnymede can be seen not only from Château Gaillard, but also from Castell Coch in South Wales and from the Rock of Stirling. Even yet Hereford and Norfolk were not satisfied; they refused to march north unless Edward confirmed again and in England, and he of course stood on his dignity and refused to let his royal word be doubted. Only when some loyalists pledged their faith that the King would stand by his promise to observe the charters did the two earls consent to march. The result was the battle of Falkirk, which was a copy of Warwick's victory in Wales. First the Scots arrayed in solid *schiltrons*, i.e. shield-walls, beat off the English horse; then came up the Welsh and English archers who shot them down; lastly the horse charged again and rode through them. Foot spearmen, unsupported, were powerless against such combination. The victorious army mustered some 2500 horse and 12,500 foot; the latter were raised from Wales and the marches and the counties near Wales, for Edward preferred to use his experienced soldiers and even his late enemies, as the northern counties of England had not yet produced a race of fighting men.

Yet was the Falkirk campaign almost worthless, for the earls, caring nothing for success in Scotland, demanded that the King should again and unconditionally confirm the charters. Very soon Hereford died, but Norfolk continued his opposition, and he and his party were able to put such pressure on the King that the war languished. The whole of one campaign, when as large a force took the field as ever Edward levied, some 2000 horse and 15,000 foot, resulted in the solitary capture of Caerlaverock Castle,[1] near the Solway Firth, garrisoned by eighty Scots. When Edward gave way and reconfirmed the Great Charter unconditionally in 1301, thereby giving to the barons everything that they asked, he was able to renew the war with some chance of success, but he was growing old and he died before he was even able to meet Bruce. Yet he had recaptured Stirling Castle. That siege is memorable in military history because of the large artillery train which was brought against it. Edward had a dozen great engines with which he battered down such walls as then existed.

[1] The two remaining towers of Caerlaverock standing behind a very wide moat have quite a French flavour in their architecture.

The field of Bannockburn lies three miles south of Stirling and on the opposite side to the scene of Wallace's victory. It is somewhat difficult to follow the details of the battle nowadays; the burn has been embanked and the swamps along its banks have been drained. Let us picture the situation from the English side of the field where Edward II is encamped before the battle. A slope falls down to a valley where the burn trickles through marshes; to east and west the bank on the Scottish side rises steep; therefore the invaders could only cross on quite a narrow front in between the swamps, and 200 or 300 yards behind on the rising ground was drawn up Bruce's army. The castle of Stirling rises in middle distance behind Bruce, and to the left is the King's Park, far less extensive now than then. Against the sky is the whole range of mountains from Ben Lomond to the Ochils. Bruce, from his side, could not see the Abbey Crag. He had not the memorial of Wallace before his eyes; he had never supported Wallace, even at his utmost need, and he had taken an oath of allegiance to the King of England at the time when Wallace was in arms. Therefore, though it was the same country, only poetic license can picture him appealing to "Scots wha hae wi' Wallie bled." Some 2000 or 3000 horse and 20,000 foot is a liberal estimate of the English army. A screen of archers crossed the Bannock burn; behind, three columns of heavy cavalry crossed at three places in the midst of the swamps, formed up, and charged upon the Scottish pike-fringed schiltrons while the skirmishing archers drew off towards their left to give them room. From the King's Park a rapid rush of light Scottish horse cut these archers to pieces, and the solid array of the Scottish pikemen beat off the English cavalry, who as they fled tripped in the bed of the burn and in pits prepared by Bruce. The mass of the rest of the archers were useless in the rear of the battle. It seemed to be a great set-back to the use of the long-bow. Bruce's smart counter-charge prevented any possibility of a rally.[1]

The scene now shifts to the northern counties of England.

[1] A consistent account of Bannockburn can be gained by a comparison of the contemporary *Chronicle of Lanercost*, the *Scalacronica* of Thomas Grey whose father fought there, the chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbroke, and Barbour's *Brus*.

Bruce had relied, like Wallace, on his massive array of spearmen in pitched battle. For an invasion of England he mounted his men upon ponies, ravaged far and wide, and always refused battle. We have a very vivid picture given to us by Jehan le Bel, a chronicler from Hainault who was fighting upon the English side during Bruce's last raid. The heavy English horsemen could never come anywhere near the Scottish pony-mounted raiders. The Scots rode light; they had practically no defensive armour, and no weapon but a spear; they carried a gridiron and a bag of oatmeal from which they made girdle cakes, and otherwise subsisted upon the flesh of the cattle that they looted. They never let the English catch them, and spread a reign of terror far and wide right down to the very gates of York. From the chronicles which were written in some of the northern abbeys of England we can see what a panic they caused. Edward II was one of the most feeble kings who ever sat upon the English throne. His chief barons were always in opposition to him, and, while a state of something like civil war existed in England, the northern counties were left to defend themselves.

Yet in two districts there was some attempt at sturdy defence. Norham Castle in those days was an outpost of the Bishop of Durham on the south bank of the Tweed, guarding a dangerous ford; hither Edward I had come to act as umpire between Balliol and the elder Bruce. The outer court of Norham is formed by a great curving trench which runs from a ravine, and cuts off a sort of plateau on the edge of the river, while on the steep bank backing to the river and inside a second ditch is the great square keep. Sir Thomas Grey[1] was constable of the castle for the bishop, and defended it year after year against Bruce. A certain young man of high birth from Lincolnshire, wishing to do some great feat of arms in honour of his lady, volunteered his services to Grey as Norham was the most dangerous place in the whole of England. The lady sent him a gilded helmet that he was to wear in her honour in war. Grey accepted his services and, when the Scots came to besiege the place as usual, the garrison made a sortie, the young knight dashed at full

[1] He had been taken prisoner at Bannockburn and ransomed. His son, also for some time a prisoner in Scotland, wrote a chronicle known as the *Scalacronica*.

speed on horseback right into the Scottish ranks and, naturally enough, was overpowered and unhorsed. But then Grey came up with his garrison on foot, beat the Scots off, and picked up the knight sorely slashed about the face and his beauty "shipwrecked" for life. Unfortunately the story does not tell us whether the lady married the knight or was frightened off by his mangled face. His name was Marmion, and from this story we can see where Scott got the name and, according to his usual manner, identified a real character in history with some place with which he was really connected; only he has laid the scene of his poem some 200 years later. From the opposite bank of the Tweed we can see Norham to the east and Flodden to the west, and can appreciate how it was very natural for Scott to bring the castle into a poem connected with Flodden. The historical interest of the true story lies in the fact that the Scots were not good at sieges and that Grey, when he fought them, fought on foot, having the experience of the defeat of the cavalry at Bannockburn.

On the other side of the mountains, in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, there was but a thin population, and the storm of the Scottish raids must have been very severely felt. In the reign of Henry III the chief landholder was Robert de Vipont who held the four chief castles: Brougham, Appleby, Brough, and Pendragon. Brougham and Brough stand each on a corner of an old Roman station. Appleby Castle was on a lofty crag overhanging the Eden; the square late Norman keep still stands, but the mansion alongside on the edge of the precipice dates from Stuart days. Pendragon is a very small but beautiful building near the source of the Eden, guarding a steep valley where now runs the Midland Railway; it is all of stone, but lies within older earthworks. The castles were divided between Vipont's two heiresses. The elder, Lady Isabella, was made the ward of a Herefordshire baron and, as usually happened under the circumstances, married that baron's son, whose name was Roger Clifford. Thus from the banks of the Wye the Cliffords entered on their celebrated inheritance on the Eden. Roger with a force of Westmorland men and accompanied by his neighbour, Alexander Lindsay of Kendal, fought in Wales, and was killed at Aber while serving under Luke Tany in 1282.

Isabella, left a widow, was a masterful woman and governed her two castles, Appleby and Brougham, with a high hand. Her sister Idonea inherited Brough and Pendragon and was of a more yielding spirit. Now, as these four castles all lay in the line of Bruce's raids, it was clear that the King had the right to demand that they should be adequately defended though they were private fortresses. Isabella's son Robert Clifford was a great warrior and took his share in all the border fighting till he was killed at Bannockburn; but, his son being only a minor and Isabella being dead, the King had to provide for a proper defence.

A very prominent man now comes upon the stage, Andrew de Harcla, but we really ought to call him Andrew of Hartley, which is a village on the slope of the moors, near Pendragon, where the ruins of a tower still stand. We can trace Andrew's life. He was a man-at-arms, then a knight in the retinue of John Cromwell, Idonea's husband, and finally Governor of Carlisle and the chief warrior of the district. Year after year he fought the raiding Scots and never let them capture Carlisle; his garrison averaged 100 men-at-arms, 40 light horse, and 300 foot. He was responsible for the custody of the castles of Brougham, Appleby, Pendragon, Cockermouth, Egremont, Highhead, and Naworth; the latter was then only a Border pele tower, for the great castle erected at Naworth by the Dacres dates from a century later. Brough was held independently by Robert Wells, Idonea being a widow. Andrew was the first man in English history who raised an adequate force of light cavalry, mounted on ponies just like the Scots, and ready to match the Scots at their own game. They were called "hobelars," a name which comes from Ireland where "hobby" meant pony.[1] From time to time a force of Irish light cavalry had been brought to Cumberland in King Edward I's wars, and doubtless Andrew raised his light horse on them as a model. With them he fought many a skirmish on the fells. On one occasion, when Edward II made a move against Berwick which Bruce had captured, he contributed a force of 1000 foot and 440 hobelars, and it is pretty clear that he was regarded as one of the best fighters of the time. In 1322 the Civil War in England came to a crisis. Earl

[1] I feel tempted to stick to this derivation, pace Skeat and Stratmann, because in documents the word is first applied to Irish auxiliaries.

Thomas of Lancaster, Edward's own cousin, and the Earl of Hereford, son of Edward I's old enemy, were moving northwards through Yorkshire. Andrew came down from Westmorland and headed them off at Boroughbridge, where an old Roman road crosses the Ure. In imitation of the Scottish style, Andrew dismounted his men and drew them up in a solid schiltron of spearmen opposite the bridge, and another schiltron opposite the ford, both of which he flanked with archers. Lancaster was taken prisoner as he tried to charge across the ford, and Hereford was killed in the passage of the bridge. Therefore Boroughbridge is the first battle in our history where combined archers and dismounted cavalry, mutually supporting each other, were victorious.[1] Andrew was created Earl of Carlisle for his services, and Lancaster was executed in his own castle of Pomfret.

Thus the North Country Englishmen were learning, under the bitter experience of defending their homes against a superior enemy, how to fight. The Cumberland and Westmorland moors are therefore the home of the new tactics which were developed up to the first great victory at Crécy. And yet these were thinly populated counties. The feudal service owed in Westmorland was only seven knights, of which the Clifford lands provided four, and the Lindsays of Kendal three; the whole of Cumberland put together owed only three. We must not think about the Lake District and its beauties at this period of history, when war was constant and love of scenery was not likely to grow up. It is on the lesser-known side, on the fells towards Durham, that Hartley's hobelars were raised, and they were mounted on ponies bred on the fells.

Edward II had done simply nothing to help the North of England against the Scots, but he was so pleased with this success over the rebels that he raised a new and large army to invade Scotland to avenge Bannockburn if possible. He thought that Bruce himself, and Andrew Hartley copying him, had won their victories simply because they had arrayed their spearmen on foot for battle, so he now called for levies of foot spearmen and no archers; "infantry preferred," he said in his writs of summons, and one has heard of the phrase on another occasion. These came from all

[1] Professor Tout in *E.H.R.*, vol. xix.

the counties of England and also from Wales and the marches. It was the first time when the whole of England was put under requisition for troops for war in Scotland, the reason being obvious, because the northern counties had been quite exhausted by Bruce's raids. About 15,000 foot were collected, half English, half Welsh. The result was dismal failure. Bruce had no need to risk a second Bannockburn, and simply gave orders to the Scots to carry off their victuals, avoid battle, and let the English starve upon the moors. And starve they did, in that bleak country between Edinburgh and the Cheviots, while the Scots as usual on their ponies harried them at every moment as they painfully tramped along on foot. A mere wreck of the host struggled home again. Bruce followed up and raided up to the very walls of York, only just failing to capture Edward himself. Who therefore could be loyal to so stupid a king? Andrew was disgusted, and, despairing of success, he entered into negotiations with the King of Scotland. But he reckoned amiss. Whatever was his influence at Carlisle, he had no backing in his treacherous designs. Antony Lucy, his companion in arms, was ordered to arrest him, did so, and sent him to be hung and quartered. Thus miserably ended a brilliant career.[1]

New actors occupy the stage for the next act in the Anglo-Scottish tragedy of war, and on a new scene. The miserable Edward II, the great Bruce, and his loyal servants Douglas and Murray, are all dead. Edward Balliol claims the throne of Scotland, and the young Edward III of England supports him against David Bruce. The decisive battle which in some degree avenged Bannockburn was fought in 1333 on the heights outside Berwick. From almost every part of North Northumberland you can see Halidon Hill and the farmhouse which crowns it outlined against the sky, and no one can fail to understand how that hill dominates Berwick. A ridge of wild moors runs from N.W. to S.E., flanked on the one side by the sea, on the other by the Tweed and its tributary, the Whitadder. On the ridge are three massive humps, separated by swampy saddles, and the south-eastern-

[1] Facts from various documents in the Record Office, which I have given in more detail in the *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Arch. Soc.*, N.S., vol. iii, p. 307.

most hump, 530 feet high, is Halidon Hill, which descends for three miles down to Berwick at the tip. The town of Berwick comes close to the water, and between it and Halidon Hill, where now is the railway station, was Berwick Castle. The English army are besieging the place, and the Scots, coming to the relief, have to effect an entry before a fixed day. As they advance along the ridge from hump to hump, they find the English embattled upon the north slope of Halidon Hill. They cannot see Berwick, but they know it lies behind, and they have to advance straight to its relief. Towards the sea is a deep ravine that no army could cross, towards the Whitadder a very steep slope. The military advisers of Edward III have taken to heart the blunders of Edward II, and adopt the tactics of Andrew Hartley. Three divisions of dismounted barons and knights and men-at-arms are arrayed at intervals, and between them and on the flanks are hollow wedges of archers pointing at the enemy. Thus we have the English adaptation of the Scottish *schiltron* with the addition of the deadly bowmen. The technical name for such a wedge is *herse*,[1] or harrow; in those days a harrow was triangular and was dragged with its point at the oxen's heels. Unable to turn either English flank, the Scots cross the swampy saddle where now stands a farm called Bog End; it was drained about half a century ago and many pony hoofs have there been turned up by the plough. They push on under the hail of arrows to which they can make no reply, and try to save their unvisored faces by charging blindly heads down. Their leading division swings round westwards against the English left; their second charges straight at the English centre. Already blinded by the arrows, they break almost at once before the dismounted men-at-arms in the background, who at once mount and pursue. But the third division swinging eastwards against the English right hold their ground just long enough to give cover to a picked body of 200 light horse, who are to scamper round on their fleet ponies towards Berwick. If these reach the town, it will be a "relief" in the accepted medieval sense of the word. Edward's officers on top of Halidon Hill can see every

[1] Another meaning of *herse* is a triangular stand of candles, then any stand of candles, then a framework to hold candles over a bier, then a bier, then a carriage which carries a bier, i.e. a hearse.

movement. He also has his picked body of horse ready, who intercept the Scottish 200 and drive them seawards. The greatest slaughter takes place " at a spot called Heavysides " ; no such name can be found in the district now, but " heavy," to a Berwickshire farmer, means " heavy against the collar," that is to say a particularly steep place, and the north-eastern slope of Halidon Hill would suit this description. The Scottish army beaten back along the whole line, Berwick surrendered.[1]

Therefore Halidon Hill, coming half-way between the great defeat of Bannockburn and the great victory of Crécy, finally decided what tactics Englishmen should pursue in the future. For nearly two centuries to come they fought on foot with their masses of spearmen, or axe-men, or billmen, whether knight or peasant, intermixed with the *herses* of archers. " There won the archers of England great laud," wrote a chronicler ; he should have said, " archers backed by dismounted heavy cavalry." The secret of success was not that they fought on foot, but that they mutually supported each other—a solid defensive mass backing the offensive firing line. If the character of a nation can be judged by its fighting capacity, we must remember that these champion archers who drew the genuine English long-bow were sturdy, well-fed peasants ; no starving, downtrodden, over-taxed plebeians could have turned the tables on the Scots who had behind them the memory of Bannockburn and countless successful raids. But it is extremely interesting to see that many of the archers of this year were pardoned criminals, chiefly poachers on the King's deer, and some were men of Sherwood.[2]

Henceforward there was no more panic in the north, and we afterwards find that it could defend itself, even if the King of England and the great majority of Englishmen were fighting abroad in France. The victory of Neville's Cross, won by the northerners alone while Edward III was engaged in the siege of Calais, is a striking sequel to the battle of Halidon Hill. The last military development has yet to be

[1] Besides the *Chronicle* of Lanercost and Baker of Swinbroke we have for this battle a chronicler of Bridlington Priory. I have studied the battle on the spot, helped by Mr. Alexander Miller of Berwick.

[2] Details are given by a great parchment roll, known as the Scotch roll, on which copies were preserved every year of orders, letters, pardons, etc., issued by the King concerning Scottish affairs.

noticed. Hobelars were found to be not so useful as horse-archers. The hobelar was simply a light lancer; the horse-archer was a mounted infantry-man, who could keep pace with the Scots and who dismounted to shoot. The earliest notice of horse-archers being raised in large numbers is at the siege of Dunbar in 1337, when the muster roll gives 2 earls, 7 bannerets, 60 knights, 460 men-at-arms, 2015 horse-archers, and 500 Welsh foot-archers; yet in spite of this force Black Agnes defended Dunbar successfully.

The feudal system had now broken down as a method of raising soldiers. The King preferred to treat his barons as leaders of paid corps and he entered into contracts with them. Even the King's own son would raise men under contract for his father's pay, and such corps were of nearly equal numbers of mailed men-at-arms and mounted archers. The Black Prince, for instance, was in command of 11 bannerets, 102 knights, 264 men-at-arms, 384 horse-archers and 69 foot-archers at the siege of Calais. The following table of pay will give a fairly good idea of the greatest number of men that medieval England ever put into the field at one time, a special effort being made to reduce Calais. Wages were counted by the day, and food and equipment were provided by the men themselves, so that probably but little money actually reached the rank and file. We have also to allow for some foreign mercenaries, and for 14,000 sailors.

£1.	Black Prince.
6s. 8d.	13 Earls and 1 Bishop.
4s.	78 Barons and Bannerets.[1]
2s.	1000 Knights.
1s.	4000 Men-at-arms.
6d.	5000 Horse Archers.
3d.	15,000 Foot Archers.
2d.	4500 Welsh.

In Edward III's time also there was a development in the armour worn by the heavy cavalry. Over the mailed coat and leggings were worn extra pieces of thin iron, called "plates," to protect the vulnerable parts: first the knees,

[1] A banneret was a superior knight who flew a square banner like a baron's, while an ordinary knight had a swallow-tailed pennon. Of the thirteen earls two came from Ireland and two from Germany.

then the outside of the arms, the shins, and finally the chest and back. This is known as mixed armour and was adopted in France during the thirteenth century before it extended to England. Mixed armour was quite common before the battle of Crécy, and as Crécy was the first victory of archers over the chivalry of France, it follows that it was not archery that was the cause of the use of plates. We must look for that to the spirit of chivalry and the love of tournaments. At a tilting match evidently the heavy couched spear, carried under arm, could pierce chain mail, but would glide off a polished breastplate, and it is fairly clear that the needs of the tiltyard rather than the needs of battle led to the invention of plates. But from Crécy onwards armour becoming ever more and more heavy was undoubtedly influenced by the power of the English bow. The war-horse of the period, who had to carry a man in full armour and his own horse-armour as well, was a great, rough, big-limbed animal of the cart-horse type and was extremely valuable. Kings and earls paid for their best war-horses from £50 to £100, money of that day.

Berwick is to-day legally a part of Northumberland. The boundary runs three or four miles above the town, and there used to be on it a little Scottish village called Lamberton, which was as celebrated in its time as Gretna Green on the side of the Solway Firth, being the first village where a runaway couple travelling from Northumberland could be married under Scottish law. Berwick is still quite a Scottish town and most of its citizens are Presbyterians, but the parish church is Episcopalian. Under English rule in the Middle Ages it naturally lost the great commerce that it had enjoyed, though one must always treat such phrases as " Berwick was the Tyre of Scotland " as the natural exaggeration of the period. It had not had an overwhelming trade, but such as it had it lost when in English hands, for there was no land beyond for it to trade with. It was simply a military position. Under James VI the " border bridge " was built which has a striking appearance as its highest arch, spanning the main channel, is much nearer to the north bank than to the south. It forms a contrast with Stephenson's railway bridge which runs at a very high level to Berwick station on the site, as was said just now, of the old castle. A piece of the old English walls

of the town still remains, but the present complete girdle of walls, enclosing a smaller space than Edwardian Berwick, and their great bastions for the use of artillery, date from the reign of Elizabeth, and were strengthened in the reign of Anne when it was feared that the Scots, angered at the Treaty of Union, were going to fight.

From Berwick along the coast ran the old main track towards Edinburgh. Neither the modern turnpike nor the railway follow the same line. This old track was close to the coast, and traversed some very bleak and difficult moorland behind St. Abb's Head; it must have been a mere bridle-path and impassable for wheels. West of St. Abb's on a jutting promontory of rock stands "Fast Castle," now a dreary ruin when viewed from close by, but picturesque enough in the distance. It is the "Wolf's Crag" of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, but all the scenery of that novel as well as the story sprang from Scott's brain; there were no woods there, no wild cattle, and no shivering sands on the coast where a horseman could be overwhelmed as was the Master of Ravenswood. Further west is a tremendous ravine at Cockburnspath, and the track descends down to the beach, for no mediæval engineer could possibly have made a road to cross the ravine itself. This is the spot that Oliver Cromwell said could be defended by one man against ten, and, though the most deep and terrible, it is but one gorge among many.[1] But five miles further on the difficult coast of moorland and ravines comes to an end. A broad, flat, and fertile strip of land runs from Dunbar to Edinburgh, some four or five miles in width on an average, between the sea and the foot of the Lammermoor range. It would be an ideal country for any army to pass, and is at the present moment perhaps the richest farming land in all Great Britain. Dunbar is a convenient little port defended by a small castle, and its value has always been that it is the only port between Berwick and Leith; therefore we shall come to it again in connection with Cromwell's campaign of 1650. A dozen miles west of Dunbar is the great Douglas stronghold of Tantallon; it has an inner wall, gateway, and outer defences on one side only, for a precipice

[1] Some years ago I received much help, when exploring the country, from the late Dr. Hardie whose name is ever honoured in Berwickshire. He was a model local antiquarian, a Monkbarns of the right type.

defends three sides; out at sea is the Bass Rock. Here the Douglas of the poem entertained Marmion at his King's command, yet refused to give his hand to him. We come next to the battlefields of Prestonpans and Pinkie and Carberry Hill, and then reach the Rock of Edinburgh.

Let us return to Berwick and ascend the Tweed. Its course is as full of literary and historical associations as is the coast road. Seven miles up-stream we come to the first ford, a very bad ford, for many people have there lost their lives when the water has come down in spate, but important enough to be guarded by Norham Castle. Next up-stream is the better known ford of Coldstream which was frequently crossed by Scottish armies. Dunse Law eight miles to the north was a favourite rallying point for Scottish armies which were watching the fords, for from its top a very wide view is obtained over parts of both Berwickshire and Northumberland. The town is celebrated as being the home of the scholar Duns Scotus whom his enemies ridiculed as the "Dunse man," and so the word "dunce" has come into our language. James IV crossed at Coldstream to meet his fate three miles further south on the moors on Flodden field. George Monk had his head-quarters here and crossed when the moment seemed favourable, January 1, 1660, to commence his memorable march upon London which put a stop to the government of England by army. The name of the place is preserved in military history by the second or Coldstream regiment of Guards which was originally Monk's own. The Tweed now ceases to be the boundary between England and Scotland, and we enter Scotland itself. At the point where the Teviot joins it, at a sharp angle, are the very extensive ruins of Roxburgh Castle which was frequently held by an English garrison in the Middle Ages, but finally became Scottish. Continuing up-stream we may next see on a high open bit of country, outlined against the sky, a little solitary tower, just a typical Border pele, now part of a farm and apparently of no importance. This is Smailholm Tower where a little boy was allowed to run wild for the sake of his health, and talked with an old farm bailiff about the battles and raids of the borderland. The little boy was Walter Scott, and his first poem, which took England by surprise, dealt with Border raids, viz. *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.* Not two miles from

Smailholm, where Scott thus drew his first inspiration, the Tweed makes a horseshoe bend beneath a high eastern bank, and there one can have a view westwards, bits of the Tweed flashing in the sunlight here and there, the three peaks of the Eildons to one's left, Melrose at their foot, and the misty hills far away towards Edinburgh in the background. Scott loved to ride here, and whenever he passed this way he drew bridle to admire his favourite view. When he died, his funeral procession started from Abbotsford towards the family resting-place amid the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey. All the countryside attended, and at the exact place where he in life used to halt to admire the view, the horses drawing his hearse suddenly stopped.

Even modern surroundings cannot quite destroy the charm of Melrose. In the wild hills up in the moors to the north is the valley where lived Halbert and Edward Glendinning; to the south is the country over which William of Deloraine rode in quest of the magic book. Under the altar of Melrose Abbey lies the heart of Bruce, but the ruins are disappointing, and Scott let his imagination run away with him when he described the beauty of the pillars resembling bundles of lances, the keystone of each arch which was a quatrefoil or a fleur-de-lys, and the garlands of roses cut in stone in the cloisters.

The history of the North of England from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards is the history of the great families, the Cliffords, the Percys, the Dacres, the Nevilles, the Grahams, who had to hold the Border against the Douglases, Humes, Kerrs, Scotts, Armstrongs, and Elliots. English and Scottish raiders grew to admire rather than to hate each other; they used to thank each other for the good sport that they had shown. But though this sort of thing has a romantic sound and though it fascinated Scott, there was certainly a very sordid side to it, and indeed Scott himself has acknowledged it in *The Monastery*. The Cliffords held their four Westmorland castles for a long time, also Skipton and Warden Towers in Yorkshire. "The Good Lord Clifford" was a Lancastrian and was brought up as a peasant boy in secret in the days of Yorkist supremacy, and his restoration to the home of his ancestors when Henry VII ended the Wars of the Roses gave to Wordsworth an occa-

sion for his *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle.* Brougham is in a very ruinous state, though some beautiful vaulting can be seen on the ground floor, and one can, with a stretch of imagination, picture how

> "Armour rusting in his Halls
> On the blood of Clifford calls."

In the seventeenth century the heiress of the Cliffords was Anne, who married the Earl of Pembroke and had her initials "A.P." carved in various places. She did much to restore all her castles. The memory of her is very strong still in Westmorland. She was a masterful woman, like her remote ancestress Isabella, and she governed her estates and held the office of Hereditary Sheriff in the face of both King and Parliament. Through her daughter the lands are still held by the Tuftons, who are thus the representatives of the Cliffords in their old home.

The Percys rose to power in the fourteenth century. Their chief seat was Alnwick Castle in Northumberland. The Dacres, first coming to Cumberland by marriage with an heiress, were Lords of Gilsland and Naworth. The Nevilles had their chief power at Middleham Castle in Yorkshire and Raby in Durham. They had a great art of adding land to land and, though they owned little in Westmorland, they obtained the earldom of Westmorland because the titles of York and Durham were already in use. By marriage with Joan Beaufort, who belonged to the junior branch of the House of Lancaster, the head of the Nevilles in 1415 was "My cousin Westmorland," but historical accuracy unfortunately compels us to say that he was not present at the Battle of Agincourt; he was guarding the Border against the Scots, and therefore Henry V made the celebrated speech—"The fewer men, the greater share of honour"—not to "My cousin Westmorland" at all, but to a much more humble knight. Westmorland's son married the heiress of the earldom of Salisbury, and Salisbury's son married the heiress of the earldom of Warwick; thus Richard, Earl of Warwick, "the King-maker" and "Last of the Barons," was a Neville by birth who held all the Montague lands from his mother and all the Beauchamp lands by right of his wife. The Beauchamps had already made famous the great palace

castle of Warwick. In the Wars of the Roses we find the senior Nevilles on the Lancastrian side, but Warwick of course on the Yorkist. The mother of Edward IV was likewise a Neville, Cicely or Cis of Raby. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the great baronial families were very few, but those few, owing to the multiplication of lands by the marriages of great heiresses, were very rich. We remember how Edward I had tried to hold his own against excessive interference and domination of the barons when the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk put pressure upon him. The later kings were almost puppets in the hands of their barons. They could not raise an army or levy a tax without the consent of their barons. Even Henry V had to pawn his jewels before he could cross the sea to Agincourt. Therefore, while in the Norman period we look to the great royal castles as the centres of power in England by which the Norman kings successfully kept down the great barons, giving to them but grudging permission to construct their own castles, in the later Middle Ages on the other hand the owners of such mighty piles as Warwick and Middleham were almost independent of the Plantagenets.

Of course, in this North Country the number of castles and fortified manor-houses and peles is enormous. They stand, as it were, in ranks as if opposing to the raiding Scots a series of lines of fortresses in case the raiders should penetrate the first line. Most of them, if they do not date from the early fourteenth century, were at least strengthened in that century, the period of Bruce's systematic devastations. Lord and peasant became very warlike, at first in self-defence. The result was that men who fought the Scots from boyhood were equally formidable to their own King. They took the Lancastrian side, the senior Nevilles, the Cliffords, the Dacres, the Percys alike, for the weak Henry VI was the sort of King that they preferred.

A speciality of the Border is the pele tower. The word is a variation of pale or palisade. The *New English Dictionary* gives 1298 as the earliest date for its use, and a document of 1322 gives a list of the " castles and peles " occupied for the King by Andrew Harcla. Small, square, comfortless, with the basement ready to house cattle when raiders were abroad and single rooms in the upper stories to accommodate the farmer and his family, a pele speaks to us eloquently of wild

life on the Border through many centuries. When castles were neglected and great lords lived in mansions in the peaceful parts of England, the pele was still necessary as a place of refuge in the North Country. It was strong enough to defy a raiding band of moss-troopers who had no artillery. Yanwath Tower was originally a mere pele, and later a court-yard and outer-works and dwelling-rooms were added; it can be seen alongside the L. & N.W.R. main line just south of Penrith, and is now a very picturesque farm-house. But many a pele still stands gaunt and dismantled in the open country with neither romantic associations nor beauty to commend it.

One of the latest castles in our history is to be found at Bodiam in the valley of the Rother in Sussex. The man who built it in the reign of Richard II was but a simple knight, but had pursued his career as a soldier of fortune in France and had amassed much money by raiding and holding his prisoners to ransom; in fact he was a typical mercenary and adventurer. One must suppose that either the King was too weak to refuse him leave to build a castle, or else the frequency of the French attacks by sea upon the Cinque Ports made the construction of a great castle inland necessary,—though that is rather a weak theory for Bodiam is a long distance inland,—but undoubtedly such a man had no need to have a fortress of his own, and when he built it with all the art that centuries of experience dictated, it can but have been in a spirit of pride to show himself the equal of the older nobility. Bodiam Castle is said to have been copied from the plan of Villandraut Castle in Guienne. It stands foursquare, with a single thick and very lofty wall, great round towers at the four angles, square towers in the middle of each side, surrounded by a very broad wet moat. Access is gained by a causeway from island to island across the widest part of the moat, and at each island is a gateway and a drawbridge. A besieger could easily drain the moat by tapping it from the river-side, but then would have found a deep and muddy ditch equally impenetrable. But there is no history of Bodiam at all. It might almost be called a castle for show, for it was never used. Indeed the great nobles just about the same time were building mansions as being more comfortable than castles, or adapting their castles to be mansions, sacrificing strength for comfort. Thus

Hurstmonceux was built for Roger Fiennes in the reign of Henry VI by Flemish architects ; it is all in red brick and is but a castle in name. Raglan Castle in Monmouthshire " combines happily the characteristics of the fortress and the mansion," and was the work of Sir William ap Thomas who fought at Agincourt, and who married the widow of David Gam, one of the few of Henry V's soldiers who fell in the action and has thus had his name immortalised by Shakspeare.[1]

Between the period of Edward III and Henry V armour had undergone a great development. The earliest plate armour had been fastened on over the mail, but now mail has almost vanished. We just find a camaille of mail round the throat, and little bits under the armpits and elbows and knees. But at the battle of Agincourt the English archers carefully aimed at the mailed throats of the Frenchmen, which they were able to pierce. Therefore at once after Agincourt a solid steel or iron gorget came to be used. Then small plates were fixed on at the elbows and shoulders, and so the period of entire plate armour has been reached. Meanwhile the great helm had gone out of use and its place was taken by a smaller, peaked, visored helmet called a basinet. With the prominence of plate armour the weapons of offence also developed. As all three nations, English, Scots, and French, fought always on foot—the French ever since the battle of Crécy—the lance was found to be altogether too clumsy. A short and heavy battle-axe came in as the best weapon to strike and hack at the heavy armour. Archers were certainly not useless, even against men clad in plate. If they were unable to find a joint they could at least throw down their bows, take to their heavy mallets or maces, and, being themselves unarmoured, had full opportunity of knocking over the heavily armoured knights. More men perished by suffocation at Agincourt and similar battles than by blows. But it was found advisable to support archers in battle, now that their arrows had less chance of bringing down their foe, by billmen. The English bill came in in the fifteenth century, and was a sort of combination of a pike and a battle-axe. The billmen could thrust and also could cut, and in the battle

[1] For almost all the castles mentioned I am indebted to Mr. D'Auvergne's book for at least some details.

of Flodden the reason why the English prevailed over the Scottish pikemen was this ; while the Scots could only thrust, the English hacked off the pike points opposed to them. The development of the armour can be traced in many churches ; I will particularise Clifton Reynes in Buckinghamshire which is celebrated for its monuments. There are two pairs of wooden recumbent figures, one pair of stone figures, and some brasses. The wooden monuments are simply half tree-trunks hollowed out, and are not fixed to the tombs to which they have always been reputed to belong. The artist who carved the face of one of the knights has made so fine a picture, fine even now, in spite of the usual mutilation which has spoilt so many sculptures, that one can be almost certain that it is a portrait. The first wooden knight and his lady lived in Edward I's reign ; the second knight, whose portrait is so good, fought at Crécy.[1] The stone knight alongside shows the exact armour and camaille of the Agincourt period, but he did not die at once after the battle ; he evidently had this monument carved for his tomb at the death of his first wife, and when he and his second wife died some years later a brass was put down in their memory, and the armour that he wears on the brass is the full plate armour and gorget which came in after Agincourt. The stone monument has also a series of figures on the sides showing contemporary life : a squire, a merchant, a priest, and so on ; but, unluckily, they have been wantonly and stupidly mutilated. There is many a monument showing one or other period of armour in many a church, but rarely several monuments of different periods alongside each other. But a warning is necessary. Often the artist had not the time, or perhaps his employer had not the money, to expend so as to give special care to all the details. To carve out the stone to represent an entire suit of mail armour would be a very laborious task. Therefore sometimes the figure is of quite smooth stone, though one may be sure that the artist knew perfectly well that it ought to be represented in rings of mail or in plates.

[1] The dates are disputed, but *a* Reynes is known by documents to have served in 1346.

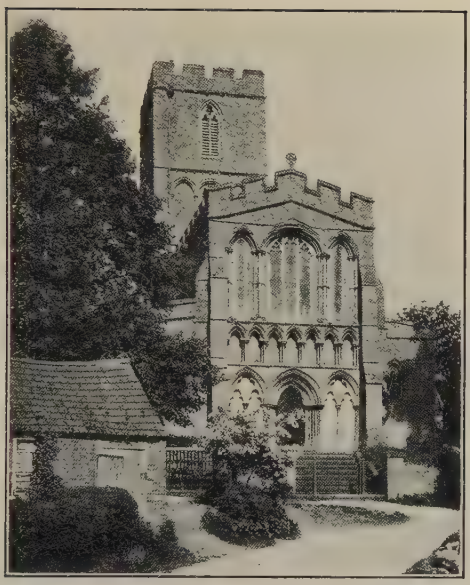
CHAPTER VII

MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTICAL ENGLAND

I.—Architectural Developments

There is not such a thing as finality in connection with church architecture; every age used to build, to pull down and rebuild, or else to adapt. There were two chief reasons why Norman architecture merges into Early English, the need of more light, and the need of greater strength to hold up a heavier roof. The pointed arch lent itself to both purposes. A greater weight could be supported upon columns with high-pitched arches than on those with round; more light could be admitted through a tall, if not very wide, lancet window. The supporting columns could be more slender, and therefore more graceful. Detached shafts, or semi-detached shafts, took away from the sameness of solid pillars. Capitals were now bell-shaped, and carved to represent natural or conventional flowers. The pointed arches were very deeply undercut with the chisel; this part of the work was but rarely done now with the hatchet.[1] Yet one cannot help thinking that the mouldings of this period are a bit monotonous; there is a more pleasing contrast in the varied work, even if roughly chipped with a hatchet, of the round Norman arches, than in the too frequently similar cuttings of the Early English high-pitched arches. A lancet window at the beginning of the thirteenth century would usually be single, but quite soon the architects saw that it would not weaken the walls to have several lancets close together, it may be three or five, but they were still separate lancets, each with its separate hood-mould, that is to say a projection of stonework to keep the drippings of the rain off from the window. The next step was to have a group of

[1] In *Queen Mary's Psalter* is an illustration of a man using a hatchet to cut stone in the Early English style.



Felmersham, Beds.; Early English style, but two lancets enlarged into a bigger middle window

Boxgrove Church, near Chichester

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lancets under one hood-mould. We do not see them frequently, at any rate in parish churches, because succeeding ages wished to enlarge the windows still further; when we do see them, they are most frequently at the east end. The illustration shows a beautiful bit of Early English work, quite early in the thirteenth century, in a parish church at Felmersham in Bedfordshire. The tower, it will be seen, is almost transitional between Norman and Early English work; and the arcading is different on each of the four faces. The church is cruciform, and therefore the west end would have a bare and ugly wall, were it not for the artistic instincts of the builder who seized upon what would otherwise be a blank space to insert a line of arcading between the top of the main door and the group of lancets which form the west window. The work here is extremely delicate. The Gothic work of the churches along the lower Nen is very famous. In Polebrook church the lancets are grouped by fives and sevens with very good effect. Outside an Early English church we find the walls propped up with buttresses, as we saw was the case in the shell keep of Clare Castle, which project in stories; but the triumph of architecture is the flying buttress, which may be called a sort of bridge of stone flying out from the top of the nave wall over the roof of the aisle wall, strengthened by the weight of pinnacles, and then descending to the ground. The flying buttress was an architectural necessity to help the wall, pierced as it was and therefore weakened by windows the whole way to the roof. Then artistic minds seized upon what was thus a necessary feature and lavished all their art upon it. The angles and the pinnacles which decorate flying buttresses are often the most attractive part of a church seen from the outside. Instances are very numerous. Perhaps the champion cathedral of Europe is that of Chartres. What is now the parish church of Boxgrove, near Chichester, was once the chancel of a priory, quite a small and one may even say an insignificant priory with not more than a score of inmates, but the work is very beautiful and spacious. It is not at all common to find that at the Reformation the chancel was spared, for usually, if any part at all was spared, it was the nave, which the laity had previously been allowed to enter and which was continued on as the parish church. But at Boxgrove

all the monastery buildings and the nave were wrecked; the ruins of them show Norman work. But the chancel was spared and is a perfect specimen of Early English, although one must say that the interior is a trifle stiff and monotonous and over-restored.

We have already seen that the triforium arch lent itself to decoration. It was necessity which in large churches compelled a space to be left between the foot of the clerestory windows and the top of the arcade, a space which would be extremely ugly if not decorated. A shaft divided the arched space of each section of the triforium. In the Early English period the shaft divided the space into two lancets; therefore between the heads of each pair of lancets was another space which required to be filled. Similarly there was a development in the windows, and the next step to a group of separate lancet windows was to have a large single window made up of several combined lancets. Here we find the transition from the Early English to the Decorated period of architecture, roughly between 1250 and 1280. The styles overlap and as it were the one melts into the other. The Decorated artists laid themselves out to design beautiful tracery at the head of a window or an arch. Tracery is divided into plate tracery and bar tracery; in the first kind the spaces cut between the stones made the pattern, in the second the stones themselves were carved to make it. Flowing curves distinguish Decorated work. At the same time more elaborate care was given to capitals and mouldings.

In most of our great buildings we can see Norman, Early English, and Decorated work, alongside each other as the need for additions came. It is quite common to find a Decorated chancel and a Norman nave, for the zeal of the clerics and more particularly of the monks was devoted to make their end of the church the most beautiful. Westminster Abbey gives us the appearance of being all of one piece and one design, except for the two very late western towers and King Henry VII's Chapel, but it took very many years to build. Henry III completed little more than the chancel, and the nave was extended bay by bay down into the fifteenth century. Much fine post-Norman work can be seen at Lincoln, Lichfield, and Salisbury. Lincoln Cathedral was planned in the thirteenth century and is a complete and well-balanced

whole. The most celebrated work is that in the Angel Choir which was completed in 1280. Salisbury Cathedral did not take the place of a previous Norman church, but when Old Sarum was too small for its population, whether clergy or laity, the see was transplanted to a position a few miles off and a completely new building was begun. It was gradually built from east to west, so that one can trace a change in style. The celebrated spire was not in the original design and is the latest part of the cathedral, indeed is an afterthought. It is said that the architect must have been a daring man to have even tried to set so lofty a spire on a base which had not been prepared for it. Lichfield was not the see of a bishop in the early Norman reigns though it had been in the Mercian period ; the year 1128 is the date of its restoration to be a see. The church dates between 1200 and 1325. Its chief peculiarity is the pair of western towers and spires matching the great central tower and spire. Turning from these we can take Canterbury, York, and Norwich as instances of churches that have been gradually developed. The East Anglian see was transferred from Thetford to Norwich in the reign of William II. The choir dates from 1100 and the nave is also Norman, but the fine stone-vaulted roof is of the fifteenth century. The central tower fell, and a new one was erected about 1360 and was ornamented by a spire which is out of keeping with the general plan of the church. It must have been extremely expensive work to have brought so much valuable stone to Norwich. The parish churches in the neighbourhood are simply built of flints, and stone was too expensive even to be used in the angles of their towers. But East Anglia profited much by the wool trade in medieval times, and Norwich was considered the second city of the kingdom next only to London ; therefore there was wealth enough to bring stone from a distance to the cathedral, if not to the parish churches. The beautiful minster at York has no Norman work. The transepts and particularly the south transept window, known as the Five Sisters which are five extremely graceful lancets, date from the reign of Henry III. The nave and the chapter house were being rebuilt in 1300, and the choir between 1360 and 1440. The central tower is later still and of the Perpendicular period. So too at Canterbury there is extremely little Norman work left, merely the crypt and a few

bits in connection with the monastic buildings, such as the staircase which leads to a hall that was used by pilgrims and visitors. The choir was rebuilt after the great fire in 1174. It was first taken in hand by a Frenchman and, on his injuring himself, it was carried on by an English architect. The effect of the various rebuildings was to extend the church very much towards the east. Anselm's work, which was burnt, extended much further than Lanfranc's, and the new work than Anselm's. At the extreme east behind the high altar is the Trinity Chapel, besides an outlying building which is called "Becket's Crown." The present nave dates from 1400 and the Harry Bell Tower from 1495, just before the end of the period of cathedral building. The Reformation, or rather the Tudor spoliation which made the Reformation an excuse for plunder and confiscation, had the result that, though much was wantonly smashed, much also was saved. Had a period of continual development in architecture continued, much of the Norman which we possess at the present day might have been pulled down.

As an instance of a parish church which has continually developed according to the alterations that each age deemed natural we can take Earl's Barton. It is chiefly celebrated for its Saxon tower, but there is much of interest in every part of the church ; at any rate it can be taken as an instance of what was going on all over England. We presume that the Saxon nave was simply a narrow wooden construction running out from the tower. The Norman nave was certainly without aisles and narrower than the width of the tower, the long-and-short of whose angles projected into the open air. There was a Norman arch leading into the tower from the nave, a doorway in the southern wall, ornamented with grotesque beaked heads, and a chancel arch leading through a cross-wall to the choir. On either side of the choir were four choir stalls, and there was a rounded apse. This latter fact is proved by two stones : the capital of the arch of the fourth choir stall on each side from the nave is an impost, that is to say was built into a wall at right-angles to the choir wall, which implies a short length of an eastern wall from which an apse opened out. The first alteration in the church in late Norman days was to make a square-ended chancel ; the apse was taken down, and two more choir stalls built on each side, and one can see

that the later Norman work is bigger and more coarse than the earlier. This fourth capital which was the impost now supports the spring of the fifth arch. The church, it should be mentioned, was served by monks from an abbey in Northampton; hence the need of stalls. In the Early English period three separate lancets were let into the east wall; the chancel arch was altered, and the chancel wall was removed for a high-pitched Early English arch to take its place, but the Norman pillars and capitals of the original chancel arch were re-used. Similarly the arch leading into the tower was altered, and here too again the Norman stones were used, so that we have stones decorated with a Norman pattern running up into a high-pitched arch. In the Decorated period the south aisle was added, the south wall coming down, and an arcade of pillars built to bear the weight of the roof; an entrance porch was added, and the old Norman doorway was set up again inside this porch. The northern aisle was added last, so that the pillars of the northern arcade are of quite a different type from those of the southern. Perpendicular windows were let into the side walls of the chancel so as to give more light, and one of these spoilt the upper work of the sedilia and piscina; but the aisle windows are of the period in which each was built. Finally, there was a beautiful wooden screen to hold the rood. Many churches show one or other of these changes, but here we have a whole succession of changes.

A few details may require explanation. Many a parish church was once monastic, and a common monastic plan was for the choir to occupy the space below the central tower and two bays of the nave, while the sanctuary proper or presbytery was reserved for the officiating clergy; in Westminster Abbey to-day the choir sit in the two bays. The nave was cut off by a solid stone screen which carried a large rood or cross, and a light was kept burning there. Laity occupied the rest of the nave and an altar was beneath the west face of the screen for their benefit. Where screens have been destroyed their presence can often be detected by the notches cut in the capitals of the third nave pillars, and perhaps there may be seen a piscina in the south wall and a priest's door in the north wall on a level with the third pillars. In non-monastic churches a wooden screen ran across the chancel arch; access to the

top of the screen was gained by a stair in the angle. A piscina was a sink into which the priest poured the water after rinsing the cup and washing his hands. Sedilia were seats against the south chancel wall for the use of clergy; some are flat, but usually there are three rising in three steps corresponding to the altar steps. The canopies over both piscina and sedilia are often elaborately carved. A squint is a common feature, and is a slit through a side of the chancel wall or through a pier, so that those sitting in a transept or an aisle may have a view of the altar. A low side window has never yet been explained; it was not an opening from which lepers in the churchyard might see the altar, or through which they might receive the sacrament, but was perhaps an aperture through which word was passed to the ringer, who had to sound the angelus bell when the host was elevated.

About the middle of the fourteenth century it is possible to trace a distinct change from the Decorated fashion of Gothic building; to this new style is given the name of Perpendicular which is employed throughout the fifteenth century, until, in fact, a new fashion had superseded Gothic design. Perpendicular building has been much criticised, and by many persons altogether condemned; yet the amount of building done during the Perpendicular period was very great indeed. There are a great number of parish churches built entirely in this style, and many of the Gothic structures most widely known, and with justice greatly admired, follow this particular fashion.

Two points stand out very clearly distinguishing Perpendicular Gothic from the styles which preceded it: the design becomes stiffer, or less free, and the windows are greatly enlarged, which together with other devices tending to the same end, gives the impression of a considerably reduced wall surface. The windows of this style were, then, large, often also broader in proportion to their height than those of Decorated Gothic, and showing in their tracery vertical lines, from which feature the name of the style has been taken. The mullions of these windows were often carried up to the arch, and transoms not infrequently enter into the design of the tracery. Whereas the Decorated window had been made with flowing curves, the Perpendicular is very largely composed of vertical lines. To name an example

of this would be entirely unnecessary, since the large majority of churches and cathedrals in the country have at least one window in this style. It is a common feature of Perpendicular architecture that the window should fill nearly all the wall space between the buttresses, which are themselves much developed in size. This point is well marked in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge. Arches are built blunter, the centres from which they are struck are near together, and the fashion now appears to build arches struck from four centres. A hood-mould over arched doorways is used ; it is, indeed, a feature of the style to find a double hood, the one following the curve of the arch, the other above it square. An ogee [1] hood-mould is very common in Perpendicular architecture, and the spandrels between the upper and lower hoods are elaborately worked. In the matter of roofs, vaulting becomes more elaborate, the method known as " fan-vaulting " becomes common. In this treatment the ribs spreading upwards give something of the appearance of an open fan. During the Perpendicular period timber roofs are also greatly improved ; the chief innovation being the hammer-beam. This beam rests on the top of the wall and projects horizontally into the building ; it is strengthened by a strut below, which rests on a corbel. The weight of the principal rafter rests on the inner end of the hammer-beam, and on the outer there is a vertical post joining and supporting the same rafter at the point of intersection. Perhaps the most well-known example of this is the roof of Westminster Hall ; there are, however, many good hammer-beam roofs about the country. Towards the end of the Perpendicular period the fashion came in to build roofs of very flat pitch ; such roofs are exceedingly common in many parish churches.

Ornamentation was put in wherever occasion for it might be found, even, it can be urged, when there was no occasion for it. The sculpture is somewhat stiff and formal, and the love of bosses and cusps is very great, but the effect, though often suffering from too much detailed elaboration, is nearly always dignified in its main lines.

Solid Perpendicular towers are often dignified and impressive. We have already mentioned those of York and Canterbury. In the south-west, a country rich in stone, very

[1] A double curve, partly convex, partly concave.

many parish churches have fine towers, and we may particularise Taunton. The towers of Magdalen College, Oxford, and of Gloucester Cathedral are famous, being simple and effective, and the eye is carried to the main feature and *raison d'être* of such structures, the bell-openings. The group of East Anglian churches reminds us of the great days of the wool industry when prosperity led to much rebuilding in this style in the fifteenth century and early sixteenth. The illustration is of Long Melford ; the tower was restored recently.

II.—Monastic England

It would seem a hard task to find in England any considerable district where the tradition or the ruin of a monastic establishment is not preserved. Either in connection with some church to which the lay public have at all times had access, or in a solitary seclusion, the houses of the monks are still seen, or at least are remembered in all parts of the land ; so that the man who cannot with small trouble to himself happen upon some instance of monastic building, must be settled in a district very inaccessible and, through many centuries, deserted by his kind.

There is a certain strong family resemblance in all that the monks have built, so that it would seem that in the construction of their houses they were intent to observe a common idea, as in the government of their lives and the ordering of their worship ; though divided into many orders, they served a common aim in ways that bore the signs of close relationship. It is, then, possible to describe the arrangement of a monastery and suggest a pattern, which though it shall by no means be found applicable to all the remains in England, shall yet be true for many, and shall contain a suggestion that may prove for the others a useful guide.

The religious house grew more elaborate and became constructed on a more comfortable and more imposing plan as the numbers of those vowed to the monastic life increased ; yet the development was of a very natural kind, and, until the last years before the Dissolution in England, when the great abbeys were buildings of such vast importance that the original simplicity of their form had come to be forgotten,

Long Melford, Suffolk

Lavenham, Suffolk ; *see also page* 306

the changes in the building were such as a practical necessity commanded. It must always be remembered that in ruins and extant buildings we see the final step of development, and monastic life must not be judged entirely on a sixteenth-century standard.

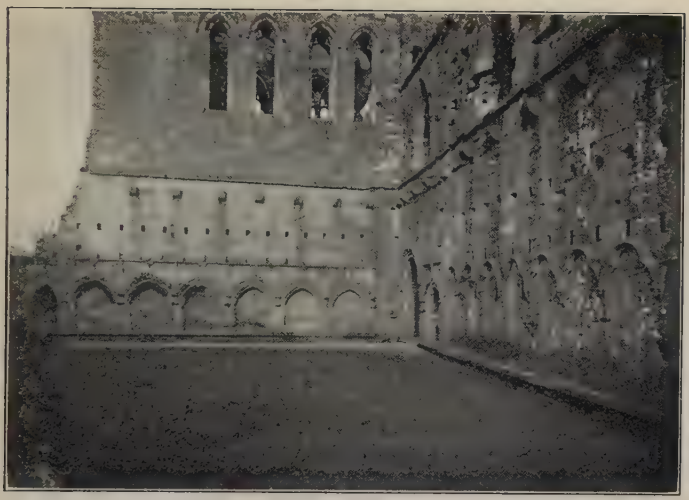
A very obvious convenience would seem to have been in the minds of the monks when they set up their homes ; they were concerned to erect their *domestic buildings* as close as might be to the *church* in which they worshipped, so that they should not have any unnecessary trouble in passing from their beds to the nightly offices. The church would be their first object, and no matter how poor and small the community might be they would be careful to set up a building of some importance and solidity. The structure would, unless the community was very poor, be large, larger it would seem than the needs of the house compelled ; would be built in the form of a cross ; and would be added to and made of a greater beauty as the prosperity of the monastery increased. When the church was cruciform the choir not uncommonly extended into the nave as far as the second bay, and here would be the limit beyond which the lay brothers and the laity, if the church were a cathedral or used in any manner for parochial purposes, might not penetrate. This point may be well seen in Westminster Abbey. Beyond the choir, towards the east end of the building, was the presbytery surrounding the high altar, the central and most sacred place in the church. Private chapels, in which private masses were said, were, in the larger churches, built round the outer walls eastward of the high altar. It would be necessary that the altar from which High Mass was administered should not be placed directly against the east wall of the church, for in the ritual of the service the priest must pass behind it, censing both the back and front. The stalls for the reception of the community were in the choir, and in the appointment of these and in the other furniture of the ritual portion of the church there would be displayed all the beauty and richness that the house could afford.

The domestic buildings set about *the cloister* would adjoin the church. Since the cloister was at best a somewhat cold and comfortless living place it would appear that the monks were anxious to build it in a position of some shelter, and for this

reason in England and all northern Europe the conventual buildings are usually found on the south side of the church. Chester, Canterbury, Tintern, and the Augustinian Priory at Barnwell, besides many others, are built with the cloister on the north side; although in southern countries with the buildings so arranged the church would cast a pleasant shade at midday on the cloister, it is to be supposed that in England this exceptional arrangement was made for other motives. The want of any rigid rule in this matter should help to disprove the unjustified assumption that in the relative position of church and convent there was any symbolic meaning.

With the church upon the north of the domestic buildings, the cloister would be built so that its north-east angle was formed by the south wall of the nave and the west wall of the south transept. From the cloister to the church there would lead, most commonly, two doors, the one at the north-east corner, the other at the north-west. On ordinary occasions the brethren would pass into the church through the former, the latter being used for processions of great ceremony.

In the earlier days of monastic life the cloister was the only common dwelling-place of the monks—at all times it was the most important; here the community lived together and here they performed all their labours of illuminating books and studying theology. When the brethren were assembled for work the prior sat in his seat at the end of the north cloister nearest the north-east door, the abbot upon the other side of the door at the north end of the east cloister; the senior monks sat in such positions as were suited to their work, and in the case of the aged, we must suppose, to their health. On the western side the juniors worked, and at the south end of the east cloister the novice master taught his pupils. The south cloister was little used for work; here was commonly the door to the refectory, the lavatories—as at Gloucester—and the aumbries where the towels were kept. There was until the later years of monasticism in England no room set apart as a library, but the books used by the monks were stored in aumbries made in the inner walls of the cloister so that they should be near at hand when the community had need of them. "Cloister life" is no idle expression standing for monastic existence, it is rather a phrase that describes with a nice accuracy the chief home of the monk;



Melrose Abbey; cloisters to the north of the church

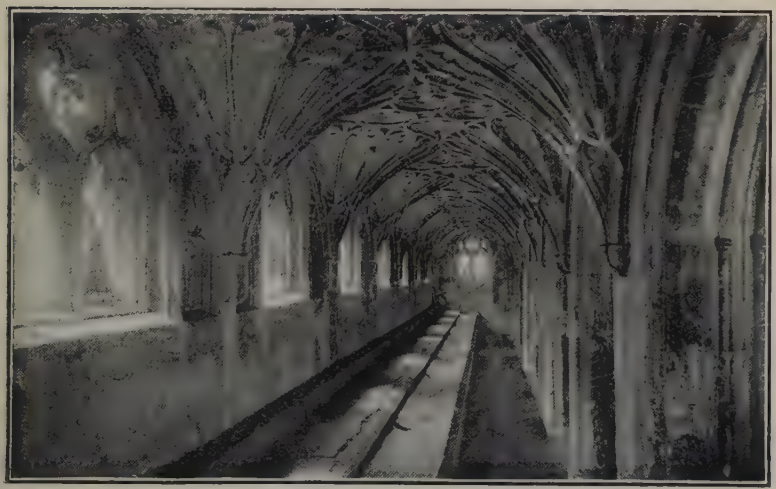


Photo: Spooner Gloucester Abbey, side of cloisters and monks' lavatories *Face page* 256

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for the cloister was his place of recreation and his work-chamber, and with the exception of the rooms in which he ate and slept, and the church in which he prayed, was the only shelter to which he had ready access. Since the man vowed to the service of religion is still human, although trained to a considerable disregard of personal comfort, it would seem evident that in the winter months the cloisters were somehow screened, whether with glass or with some other device. Indeed, the *Rites of Durham* describe the cloisters as being closed to the weather during the winter season, and this was probably done in all monasteries. It was not uncommon in the larger houses to have separate carrels, or cubicles, in the cloisters in which each monk might work; this is recorded to have been the case at Durham and would not appear to have been rare, as the carrels may still be traced at Gloucester, Chester, and other houses. To form these carrels stone partitions, set apart at the breadth of the cloister window, were built, projecting inwards, and in many cases the inside of these cubicles was covered with wood, giving greater warmth and comfort in winter.

The other buildings of the establishment were gathered about the cloister, communicating with it as far as was possible. The *chapter house* was built next to the church adjoining the transept; next to it on the east side of the cloister there was a *parlour* or *locutorium* in which the superior might transact private business; in the same quarter there were often the offices of other officials of the house, and not uncommonly a prison for erring monks with a small hole in the roof through which food was let down to the inmate. Above the chapter house and parlour the *monks' dorter*, or dormitory, was generally built. It is, however, found in other positions, at Durham on the west side of the cloisters, at Worcester on the west and at right-angles. The apartment would appear to have been of the plainest, without adornment and with little of comfort; in earlier times the monks' beds formed the sole furniture of the room, but later cubicles for each brother were set up, though in consequence of the system of constant supervision to which the household was subjected, the monk in his cubicle did not enjoy a very secure privacy. It is mentioned in the *Rites of Durham* that within each compartment of the dormitory there was a table set under the

window, and here the monk might keep his books and study, the hour of the midday rest in summer being, one imagines, the only occasion on which he would use the dormitory for work. In connection with the dormitory was always a *reredorter* or *necessarium*. The dormitory communicated directly with the church, that the monks might go the more easily to the night offices. The entrance was by way of the transept; at St. Albans, Beaulieu, Fountains, Westminster, and many others, by way of a staircase in the west wall; at Tintern, where the church is to the south of the buildings, by way of the north transept. The *treasury* or muniment room of the monastery was often situated, for purposes of security, between the church and the dormitory.

On the south side of the cloister was commonly the *calefactorium*, the warming house for the monks; it is in the south-east corner at Beaulieu and at Fountains, next to the stair leading to the dormitory. Here, it is ordered in the observances of many houses, a fire should be kept burning from All Saints' Day to Easter, that those of the brethren who were suffering from cold might come and warm themselves, though it does not appear that they were encouraged to stop for more than a few minutes in such luxurious surroundings. Next to the calefactorium and in the centre of the south side of the cloisters was the *frater*, the monks' refectory. At the extreme end of the room from the entrance was the high table, the seat of the superior and seniors of the household; at tables running the length of the room the monks were served; above the high table was the majestas, either a crucifix or picture, and this would seem to have been the only decoration on the walls; a pulpit, from which the daily reader might read to the brethren while they ate, was built into one of the side walls. Communicating with the refectory through a hatch on the west side was the *kitchen*. In Cluniac houses there would of necessity be two kitchens in close proximity, since it was the rule of the house that the lay cooks and those brethren whose duty it was to serve in the preparation of their fellows' meat should work in different rooms. There are in many of the custumals directions of a very minute nature by which the cooks are charged to keep themselves and their utensils in a nice state of cleanliness, but if the list of kitchen furniture given by the same authorities be correct that task was not heavy. Nor

was the skill of the cooks put to a severe test. The smallness of the ordinary monastic kitchen would at least suggest a contempt for food. Most people have an idea that monks were always greedy; but such small kitchens could not furnish elaborate meals, and a diet of porridge is not luxury.

In the centre of the buildings on the west of the cloister the main entrance was very often to be found, though it is not a very rare occurrence to find the *guest hall* in this position. The cellarer would have his offices and stores on the ground-floor of this west side of the cloister. At Repton Priory, where the church was on the south of the domestic buildings, the guest hall on the west of the cloister faced the chapter house. It would, however, seem to have been the object of the designers of monastic buildings to place the guest house as far as possible from the monks' quarters, and in the greater houses it became the fashion to construct a special house, often unconnected with the main building, in which the numerous guests of the monastery might find fitting entertainment. The pilgrims to Glastonbury were housed in a fine building which still stands in the main street of the little town.

The *infirmary*, where those who were sick and those who for any reason stood in need of special food and treatment found attention, has no place that can be assigned to it in the plan of the monastic building; it was in all probability where the builders could most conveniently place it. At Ely and at Fountains it is to the east of the other buildings and this would seem no uncommon arrangement. Originally the infirmary was built like a church with nave and aisles, the beds being in the aisles and the nave forming the living room, while in the chancel services were held for the benefit of the patients. This form, however, was very uncomfortable and was superseded. In close connection with the infirmary there is generally found the *herbarium*, as at Gloucester, Westminster, and Canterbury, surrounded with a cloister where the infirm brothers might taste the air and take gentle exercise. Forming part of the infirmary was the *misericorde*, sometimes called the deportum, in which meat was served to certain of the brethren on such days as it was not given in the refectory. A dispensation was daily granted to a chosen

number of the household to partake of a more luxurious diet in the misericorde, but, it is ordered in Winchelsey's *Statutes*, those so treated must go to their work and duty after "lest they should while away their time with idle tales and wanton jollity, which often happens." So that we may picture men, something wearied with continual restrictions and inclined to prolong any chance of relaxation, still breathing beneath the monk's cowl.

The *almonry*, another building with no fixed position, was commonly used as the monastic school where boys were trained that they might enter the monk's calling if, when they came to years of discretion, they were of that mind.

There was in the monastery in earlier times no regular library building where the books of the community were left, but as monastic life became less simple, this circumstance seems to have been noticed as a fault, some effort being made to correct it. Thus at Durham in 1446 Prior Wessington collected privately certain books, keeping them in his own lodging and there giving access to them to such of the community as desired it; at St. Albans Michel de Wentmore (1335–49) collected books, which with others were made into a monastic library by Abbot Whethamsede in 1452; and at about the same date Prior Thomas Goldstone set up a library at Canterbury, which was enlarged by his successors. But though in certain instances libraries were founded, their establishment would never appear to have been general, and they cannot be assigned a place in the ordinary conventual buildings. In the early days of monasticism the illuminating of missals and chronicles, for which many houses were famous, was done in the cloister. Later a regular *scriptorium* was set apart, but there was no fixed site for such a room. At St. Albans it was in the south aisle of the church, and here we may picture the historians and their assistants compiling the chronicles in which they gave a contemporary record of the doings both of the kingdom and of their own abbey. They succeeded each other through several centuries, one monk often rewriting with embellishments his predecessor's work.[1] Often they give amusing touches of the woes of their house at the hands of wicked

[1] e.g. the contemporary account of Bannockburn is plain and graphic, the rewritten account of a century later is amusingly grandiloquent.

men in power, such as Falkes de Bréauté, of troubles with their tenants, of their lawsuits, etc.

To these buildings which were for the use of the whole community there were added in later times special houses for the superiors, and these would sometimes be of a considerable size and comfort, so that the abbot would not uncommonly be housed in princely fashion. The mills, bakehouse, brewhouse, granary, and other buildings needed to make the abbey self-sufficient varied in number and importance with the position of the house; the Benedictine and other monasteries which were commonly surrounded by a town standing in smaller need of so full an equipment, and being besides, by the habit of their order, more inclined to the purchase of labour. And to these houses the great Cistercian abbeys would appear in strong contrast, for, set usually in the midst of lonely country, they built within their walls such barns, mills and work-houses as would, to the fullest extent that was possible, render them independent of the world about them.

There are in the monastic remains of England many good examples of the commodious nature of the lodging of the head of a religious house. The Abbot's House at Kirkstall should be particularly remembered as one of the most complete examples of the domestic architecture of the twelfth century to be found anywhere in this country. That the comfort of the monks was not altogether neglected, even in early times, may in one point at least be judged from the careful arrangements that were made at the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, in order to supply the house with fresh water, and to drain off that which had been used. At Canterbury in Norman times the drainage and water supply was of a very elaborate nature.[1]

Finally, as we picture a religious house it should be remembered that the walls enclosing the precincts of the monastery shut in a considerable area. Within them would be enclosed the mill, the brewery, the bakehouse, etc., besides the complete buildings of the monks, often themselves of considerable size. The great gateway—which may be well seen at Bury, Norwich, Ely, Fountains, and many other places—gave access to an enclosure of many acres.

[1] Vide *History of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, by Rev. R. Willis.

The officers (*obedientiarii*) of the monastery were, though differing in certain particulars, upon the whole the same in number and standing for all the orders, so that a general list of them may be given which shall be in the main correct. At the head of the establishment was the *abbot* or *prior*, or, as he is called in certain houses, the prelate; in his hands was the complete direction of the house, and to him all the brethren owed an unquestioning obedience and a deep reverence. It was originally laid down in most of the rules that the superior should lead the common life of the cloister, mixing with the brethren, sharing their meals, and sleeping with them in the common dormitory, but as the monasteries grew in riches and importance the abbot became less concerned with the ordinary routine, lived apart, and was, we may imagine, busy with many occupations different to those of his subordinates. Quite early in the monastic history the custom seems to have existed for the superior to dine apart from the brethren, for in certain *Observances* it is set down as the duty of the abbot to ask the monks from time to time to be his guests, and on the other hand instructions are given to those who might be invited as to their behaviour at the superior's table. If the head of the house were a mitred abbot, that is if he took his seat in the House of Lords, he was a person of importance, not only in his immediate neighbourhood but in the land. The superior, even in the later days of monasticism in England, when he had for some time ceased to share the claustral life, administered extreme unction to any dying monk. At the death of the superior the house set about choosing his successor; certain of the senior monks, formed into a committee, nominated one candidate, whose name was then submitted to the approval of all the brethren; their assent being obtained a deputation was sent to the bishop seeking his approval, and also, in most cases, to the King; these formalities being duly accomplished the new ruler was instituted with a very considerable ceremony. In the case of those alien houses which were ruled by a foreign mother-house, and such originally were the Cluniac and Cistercian foundations, the confirmation of the election would come from abroad.

Under the abbot was the *prior*, and if the house was a priory, the *claustral prior*. He was appointed by the superior

who was directed to be guided in his choice by the advice of the seniors. The prior was especially concerned with maintaining the discipline of the house, and with seeing that all was shut at night and that the brethren were quietly in their beds. He was the director of all building works; and must administer extreme unction to any lay brother who was dying. Under him was a sub-prior, whose duties would seem largely those of a spy upon the conduct of the brethren.

The *precentor* appears an official with many duties; he was in the first place charged with arranging the services in the church, making out the weekly list of those who were to officiate, and settling what music should be employed in the services; he was also to act as librarian to the monastery, having in his care all the books of the house, and being concerned with their binding and renewal and with the purchase of new ones, and he was to distribute the books to the brethren and to keep a record of what book each one had in his care. And to complete his duties he was to record the death of any brother in the necrology of the house, and to receive and place in the archives the written charter of the vows of new brethren. He was one of the three custodians of the convent seal. He was assisted by a *succentor*.

The *sacrist* had the care of the church fabric, the vestments and vessels used in the services, and the relics. He was responsible for the decoration of the altars, and was charged to see that everything was so appointed that the offices might be said without hitch or interruption. He was keeper of the cemetery; looked after the bells and the clock; and had to supply all the material for the lighting of the church and of the other buildings. He had several assistants. The sacrist and the sub-sacrist were always to sleep in the church, and the assistant must ring the bell for all the hours.

Like all the officials of the monastery the *cellarer* was under the complete control of the superior, who appointed him and might dismiss him if he thought fit; yet, supposing the superior to be in agreement with him, the cellarer was in a position of considerable power and importance. He managed the entire food supply of the monastery, and had control of the paid servants. It was his business to visit the mills, bakeries, and workshops, supplying the house, and to see that

the work was carried on in a satisfactory manner and that there was no unnecessary waste; he journeyed periodically to the manors of the abbey to see that here also there was nothing amiss; and, with the aid and consent of the superior, he controlled the monastic estates. He was responsible for the good repair and upkeep of all the domestic buildings, and would, indeed, seem to have been primarily concerned with the practical management of the whole community. He was particularly instructed to see to the supply and good condition of the monastic beer. His office entitled him to have the service of many assistants.

In the frater the *refectorian*, sometimes called the *fraterer*, reigned, and with this duty he had also another: to keep the lavatories clean and to see that the towels were changed at the proper time.

The *kitchener* ruled in the kitchen as the refectorian in the frater.

The *infirmarian*—he is also styled the *master of the farmery*—looked after the sick and those who through other causes were lodged in the infirmary. It was his duty to sleep there whether he had patients under his charge or not; but it would appear that his was no sinecure since, in the *Observances* of the Augustinian canons at Barnwell, it is mentioned that there are several causes that might bring a brother under the infirmarian's care. "Some," runs the *Observances*, "are afflicted with a heaviness in the head, and a pain in the stomach from sitting up too late with guests, and either drinking too much, or overloading the stomach with food." So might monks, in spite of many austerities, still behave as other men, and in the common fashion pay a price for their behaviour. To complete his business the infirmarian bled the members of the community at such times as it was thought desirable.

To the *almoner* was entrusted the charity of the house; he must distribute alms and himself visit the poor; and was to be careful that when a monk died his allowance of food might, for a certain time, be given to some poor man. He chose the beggars who should be brought to the monastery when, at the Maundy washing, the abbot washed their feet. And, lastly, in those houses where there was a school for boys the almoner had charge of it.

The *hosteller*, who had charge of the guest house, should have, it is stated, "not merely facility of expression, but also elegant manners and a respectable upbringing." He was to be in constant attendance on the guests, and should seek their comfort as far as was in his power. In this respect it appears, the monasteries maintained a very high and generous tradition, so that hospitality was dispensed in a very courtly fashion, and it was not expected that the guests, chance travellers for the most part, who might seek shelter, should share in any manner the austerity of the monk's life.

The *chamberlain* of a monastery was chiefly concerned with the habits and linen of the monks. He was in charge of the tailors, appointed the laundresses, and provided new linen when the old was worn. He must also provide soap and other materials for the washing and shaving of the monks, and superintend the "rasura" on those days when the community was shaved in the cloister.

Such officers would be required in any monastic house to see that everything was conducted in the manner habitual to the order, and especially to guard against any upset of the routine by which the monks might be compelled to pay attention to other things than their daily prayers and duties; for it was the object of those responsible for the rule of the house to ensure that nothing occurred which might bring back the thoughts of the community to the cares and movement of the world which they had abandoned. It is, indeed, a very recurrent warning in monkish *Observances* that the brethren should be kept, as far as was possible, from any sight or hearing of that which passed without the gates; as if those who set down the rule were by no means sure that vows, though solemnly taken, would stand the test of a continual comparison. This care that the monk should be not only withdrawn from the world but placed beyond the reach of any chance contact with it, is very noticeable in the manner in which novices were selected and trained. It is very probable that many entered the monastic life who afterwards regretted it, and that many others disguised their previous doings to gain an easier entry, yet it is also clear that the monks were, wisely, by no means eager to add to their number those who would turn public criticism too searchingly upon them, and who would, even in the days when the tradition of aus-

terity was considerably relaxed, appear but slightly affected by a religious fervour.

The novice, having satisfied the chapter as to his fitness for the cloister life, was admitted to a year's probation, during which he might at any time quit his habit and return whence he came. Throughout this year he was instructed by the novice-master in the habits of a monk and acquired a knowledge of the many offices; he was moreover under a most rigid supervision, and received the most minute instructions with regard to his behaviour. He was never, except when in his bed, out of the sight of his master; he was taught to put his clothes on and to take them off, to get into bed and out of it, to wash himself and to perform the most familiar duties, to walk, to sit, to speak. No French schoolboy had ever so much attention paid him, and no class of man has ever been so little by himself. The novice, who had withstood this most surprising test, was, at the end of the year, again summoned to the chapter and questioned as to his wish to take the final vows. If he still desired to bind himself, and if in the judgment of his master he was a fit and proper person, he attended mass in the church, and there, having signed a promise of lasting chastity, obedience, and poverty, he became a monk, and cut himself off, without hope of return, from the work and pleasures of ordinary men.

The lowest position in the monastic community was that of the *lay brother*, or conversus, for, though he belonged to the house and was under its rule, he was not vowed to religion, but rather to the service of the monks. He was generally under the supervision of the cellarer, and had to promise chastity, obedience, and the abandonment of personal property; but he worked with his hands rather than his emotions, and was not expected to attend all of the daily offices.

Besides the lay brethren there were hired servants, whose number would vary with the size and importance of the house, and who would probably have been more numerous in the later years of monasticism in England, when the monks had changed somewhat their original simple customs.

These, then, with the brethren who held no office, and who were distinguished as seniors and juniors according to the length of their service, would form the monastic community, which though it be denied any robust sanity, cannot be robbed

of a considerable charity and the fixed dislike of idleness; which latter inclination might well be protective, since idleness in a cloister had surely been an incarnation of boredom from which any man would gladly escape.

It is an impossible task to give a daily programme of monastic life which shall be true for all the orders and for the whole time that the monks were established in England; all that can be done—and even then the description shall err on account of a too great generalisation—is to name the hours and other offices that the rule ordered the monks to say, and to take some notice of the ordinary time of meals and other businesses of the day. Though such a list when drawn up may, on the whole, be not very far from the actual time-table which existed in many monasteries, and may indeed reproduce with a certain accuracy the daily duty of some, it is probably very far from describing the actual happenings of any house. It is not uncommon to find a rigid code relaxed; and though the relaxation is become generally accepted, the old order is still called the rule and the new practice the exception. In this matter the religious communities most certainly acted as other institutions, so that when we repeat—having no other definite information than their old rule to guide us—that they only served two meals a day and sometimes one, that they spent much time praying in a cold church, that they maintained an almost continual silence and did not indulge themselves in any idle amusements, we do so because we have before us a rule setting down these things as the ideal; yet since we know the men to have been not less than human, since we read of dispensations and occasional relaxations, and since in their time they had the reputation of men who did not, for one thing, deny themselves good food, we may suppose them persuaded, like other men, of their duty, yet by no means successful in the strict fulfilment of it.

At midnight or soon after, according to the rule, the monks would leave their beds and go into the church for *Matins*. For this, as for other matters concerning the monk's behaviour, strict instructions are given. It is set down how the brother shall sit on his bed with his cowl about his face until the community is ready; how he shall pass into the choir in company of five other brethren, so that there shall be no crowding and disorder; and how he shall behave during the service.

Matins would last the best part of an hour and then a second service of *Lauds* would follow immediately, or in some cases after a short interval, during which the brethren sat with their hoods drawn back that they might not sleep undetected. This second service was of no great length, and after it the community again retired to bed. At daybreak, though in summer it was probably somewhat after dawn, the house was roused for *prime;* this office was short and was immediately followed by an early mass, which was not attended by the whole community but which was designed for the benefit of the lay brothers and other work-people. At the time that this mass was being said there were other masses celebrated in the private chapels; those who wished to do so were confessing privately in the chapter-house; and in the cloister lavatory the majority of the brethren were washing themselves, guided, it is to be hoped, by the instructions with which they were acquainted. For "all the brethren are to be careful not to blow their noses with the towels, or to rub their teeth with them, or to staunch blood, or to wipe off any dirt." Which admonition was doubtless framed by some careful refectorian thinking of his supply of clean towels.

On days which were not fasts the monks then took bread and beer in the refectory, standing to their food. After this refreshment, which, if it were no better than the chronicles would have us to suppose, may not justly be called a meal, the brethren went back to the church for the *Morning Mass*. At the finish of this office the daily chapter began. At about nine o'clock of the morning the whole community gathered in the chapter-house and there discussed matters of business. The chapter began with the reading of a portion of the martyrology and the recital of certain prayers, after which the novices and all strangers withdrew and the house settled what private business there might be. At this moment any monk was supposed to rise and confess to any breach of discipline of which he had been guilty, or, being himself of a virtuous character and therefore in no position to make any statement about his own conduct, he was encouraged to accuse any of his fellows whose fall from virtue he had witnessed; and if his accusation was considered just, and if the fault was judged grave, the delinquent was, with an admirable promptness,

flogged upon the spot. After these measures of discipline intending novices or candidates for holy orders might make their petition. This finished, the chapter came to an end with the commemoration of the dead.

After the chapter the monks might talk in the cloister, though it was assumed that they should speak only on religious subjects. The office of *Terce* would be said in the church between the chapter and *High Mass*. This mass which was, presumably, the chief service of the day, would begin somewhere towards ten o'clock of the morning, and its ceremonial would vary very much with the day. On a feast of importance High Mass in some great abbey church was a very imposing sight. After High Mass the office of *Sext* was read without any interval, and on its conclusion the community passed to the refectory for dinner, which would in most monasteries be served at about eleven o'clock.

The meal might not begin until the reader had completed one sentence, and in view of this he is instructed to begin his reading with some sentence that is not too long. During the meal the reading continued, but it does not appear that the monks were forbidden to speak, though they are cautioned to do so quietly. Careful instructions are given as to the conduct of the servitors; they "are to serve the food quickly and actively, not running or jumping in an unbecoming fashion, and they are to hold the dishes neither too high nor too low." They should use both hands to a dish except—and the reason for the exception would seem something obscure—when they are carrying eggs. They are to answer the brethren civilly even though they cannot bring them what is asked for. It would, indeed, appear that the monastic waiter was not less faultless than his lay successor of to-day, and that then as now he needed careful training. The monks also are carefully instructed how to behave at table; "no one may whistle, or write, or look at a book while the meal is proceeding"; they must not get up from the table to serve themselves; and they are not "to exceed moderation in eating." The careful fraterer again repeats, with intent to keep the table-napkins clean, the instructions that he had made known about the towels, and adds "those who have made an unusually large stain upon the table-cloth with their food are to point it out to the fraterer, that he may get it

washed with all speed." The word "unusually" bespeaks a large tolerance in such matters.

After dinner there was, in summer, an hour in which the monks slept in the dormitory or sat and amused themselves with reading, as best suited their mood. It would appear that this midday rest was sometimes the occasion of lighter amusement, and bowls and other games seem to have been permitted in most houses. After this rest, or perhaps in some cases immediately after dinner, the community would attend the office of *Nones* in the church, and at its conclusion would begin the manual labour of the day, which in most houses was carried on until the time of Vespers. This manual labour would vary considerably with the house, but seems to have been a common practice maintained, in a large degree, for the sake of the monks' health. In Cistercian houses, which were ordinarily in lonely places, the help of the monks in the fields must, at certain seasons, have been very necessary. Indeed, it was a common custom in these and other monasteries to dispense with most of the daily services during the time of harvest, so that the brethren might be all day in the fields; and it is noted in regard to certain communities that at such times dinner was served to the monks where they worked, that no time might be lost.

After their daily work it was the ordinary custom for the convent to attend *Vespers*, but at Durham and certain other cathedral monasteries this service was said in the middle of the work-time, at about three o'clock of the afternoon. When Vespers were finished the community went to the refectory for supper, which was not served in the winter months except on feast days. It would appear, however, that on those occasions on which no supper was served the monk who was hungry or thirsty might obtain something to eat and drink. After supper the brethren, who had not served at the meal, washed in the cloister while those who had were eating, and then the whole convent went to the chapter-house for *Collation*, when for a short time one of the officials for the week read to the assembly. Immediately, in most cases, after Collation the monks again went to the church, and this time for the last service of the day. *Compline* differed in one respect from the other offices, for it was not ordered that it should be said in the choir, and seems to have been conducted in different parts

of the building, since at York the Galilee was used for this purpose. With the conclusion of Compline the day's work ended and the convent went to bed.

Such was the most common rule for the monastic day, but there is no reason to believe that for the most part of the brethren this same programme was repeated without change throughout their life. The officials of the house were, necessarily, exempt from many of the common duties, and the ordinary monk might obtain, from time to time, leave to absent himself from certain offices upon the production of some, we must suppose, not too conclusive reason. There would arise also occasions on which he might be sent from the monastery upon some of the convent business; or, if he had lived long in the community, he had probably learnt how to escape many of those things which he did not wish to do. Into all the houses a love of comfort seems to have been born, so that the original simplicity and enthusiasm of the convent became changed, so that the Cluniacs, finding the Benedictines grown too luxurious, came to reform monastic life, and being in their turn something affected with a love of ease, saw another generation of reformers in the Cistercian brethren, who following the same road became before very long rich and comfortable. So, throughout the kingdom, and indeed throughout Europe, the monasteries became, from many causes, rich, and holding riches became powerful, and being both rich and powerful became ambitious, and built themselves splendid and important buildings; so that we look with admiration at the remains of Bury and Fountains, Tintern, Glastonbury, and many such majestic ruins, and cannot think that they were the dwelling-places of men vowed to a simple and austere life. And in all likelihood we are not wrong, and few of the great houses were in their maturity simple in their ways. For the monks, having power and having riches, and living in very beautiful and very noble homes, and being with it all no more than men, came to a keener perception of the great pleasure of a moderate comfort, and so introduced it to their lives. Yet, though they perhaps often became luxurious, ate well, slept none too hard, and were not over careful that the daily programme should be strictly attended to, their existence was still governed by an ideal not to be despised, and they continued to do much good to the people

about them. There were many things that they did wrong—yet surely not the hundredth part of those imputed to them—and there was, it appears to the minds of those who cannot share their ideal, a very considerable foolishness in their way of life; but despite the one thing and the other their services to men were many and should be acknowledged, and their faults were not more than may ordinarily be found in men who profess themselves singly occupied with any high endeavour.

The relations of the monasteries with the outside world were in some contrast to the tranquillity which, we may suppose, reigned within the walls. The religious houses enjoyed a certain independence and would have more; and it is in that circumstance that lies the cause of much of the trouble in which they were mixed up. In the first case the authority of the bishop was not definitely fixed and was continually disputed. The Benedictine abbeys which had grown powerful might often resent, though they recognised some justification for it, the supervision of the bishop; and were in consequence very ready to dispute his power should he seem to have exceeded it in any matter. The bishop, indeed, had a just claim to the right of supervision, and was mainly concerned with keeping the monastery from debt and preventing the appointment of a worthless superior; yet it is possible to conceive that when a mitred abbot ruled the house he would be very ready to take offence unless the episcopal suggestions were made known to him in a very tactful manner, considering himself, not unjustly, a person of a considerable dignity, and being jealous of his position and the power which it gave him. Yet the experiment of exempting the monastery from episcopal control was tried in 1086 when Battle Abbey was thus freed, but the results did nothing to encourage repetition. The Cluniac, Cistercian, and Premonstratensian foundations, which owed allegiance to foreign abbeys, and whose superiors were appointed from abroad, would present further difficulties to the bishop's guidance, since the real authority which commanded them was situated so far away. Moreover, since the monasteries held much of their land as fiefs of the Crown,[1] there would be in this direction many

[1] The greatest pre-Conquest monasteries, which already possessed much land, were taken over by William I as tenants-in-chief. He demanded from them fixed numbers of knights for his wars, and the figures may give

chances of dispute, both the one side and the other imagining themselves unfairly dealt with.

Being great landlords the abbeys would find further occasions for contention in the management of their estates. It seems that on the whole they were just over-lords and dealt fairly by their tenants. But they would not appear to have erred on the side of leniency, and were extremely careful of their rights; while the tenants, as not infrequently happens, sought to gain all and perhaps more than they had a right to. It very commonly happened that where a religious house, especially of the Benedictine order, was founded, a town grew up about it, built on the monastic lands, so that the townsfolk were tenants of the monks. And as the town prospered the inhabitants felt themselves hardly treated in being forced to pay their dues; they would rather grind their own corn than pay their fees to the abbey mill; but the monks, careful of their rights as well as of the money that these contributions gave them, were by no means inclined to meet the town's wishes in the matter. And so a fine cause of ill-feeling was bred upon both sides, and the quarrel developed openly. We may imagine the monks insulted if they went abroad from the monastery walls, and the burgesses, men probably of wealth and substance and much concerned with their own importance, discussing with indignation the intolerable exactions of the monastery, opposed, so they doubtless styled it, to all liberty and progress. And these matters did not right themselves with time, so that in many places, notably at Norwich, Bury, Shrewsbury, and Reading, the quarrel broke out sudden and violent, the abbey was attacked and success-

us some clue to the relative importance of the houses in 1066. Peterborough owed 60 knights, Bury 40, Hyde 20, St. Albans 6, Ramsey 4, Sherborne 2, and Abbotsbury 1. Two centuries later when Edward I raised a feudal host, Peterborough paid scutage on 5 only, but on a high scale at fifty marcs per knight; St. Albans sent to the war a knight and 10 men-at-arms, i.e. the recognised equivalent of 6 knights. Obviously St. Albans had grown in importance and had to perform the full service, while other houses were allowed to send fewer soldiers than the number that William I had fixed. A fine position on Watling Street, and the rule of energetic abbots after Lanfranc had put in an abbot of his own choosing, made St. Albans grow. We have amusing details as to the difficulty experienced in getting the sub-tenants to supply the soldiers, yet the chronicler records proudly how the men fought well and attracted attention, and some of them after the forty days of feudal service were over continued in the army taking the King's pay; this was in 1277.

fully resisted, and was broken into and the monks set upon; blood flowed, men died, both monks and laymen—for the brothers of the cloister fought well at a pinch—and a great scandal was set afoot to the hurt of the King and of his peace. Such events as these would, in a manner altogether compelling, turn the thoughts of the community from prayer and the quiet life of the cloister.

But these contentions do not represent the only gift of monasticism to this country, and the chief work of the monks did not lie in upholding the rights of the landlord. In agriculture, in industry, and in art they did much that was of lasting benefit. Their fields, though there is no evidence that they were very skilled in their methods, had surely been well tended, and might have been useful examples before the eyes of the lay cultivators, at least of the merits of enclosure. They were skilled in many trades, and not improbably introduced new appliances from the continental houses of their order; the wool trade was actively engaged in, and from two lists, the one Flemish and dating from the end of the thirteenth century, the other Italian and of the year 1315, it is seen that many of the monasteries of England sent wool to the low countries and to Italy; and in engineering the draining of the fens about Crowland and the water supply of the priory of Christchurch, Canterbury, should prove that the monks had something to teach to the laymen about their houses. To them we owe the introduction into this country of the art of making window glass, said to be due to Bishop Bisop in 675; the method of weaving vestments, in which matter they worked so skilfully that later generations cannot rival them; the making and collection of many books, for the library which Leland saw at Glastonbury must surely be held to their credit; and—for in this matter there can be nothing said against them—the setting up of a great number of buildings whose beauty has had much effect upon all later architecture in the land.

Of the men and women living in communities with the purpose of practising together the rites of their religion there were many different varieties and orders, so that not all of them were known as monks and nuns, but many called themselves by other names and were in some sort rivals to each other; monks, canons regular, friars, and the men of the

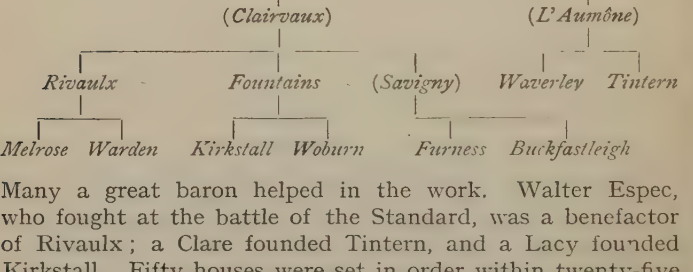
military orders were, though to other eyes than their own they might appear of a common habit, careful to make a distinction amongst each other.

There were in England two orders of Black Monks, the *Benedictines* and the *Cluniacs;* of these the Benedictines were the older and by far the most popular foundation, and were the most successful pioneers of monasticism in western Europe. The order came to this country with the mission of 597, and the houses soon became the centres of towns. Such great monasteries as Glastonbury, Peterborough, Bury St. Edmunds, and the post-Conquest house at Reading, belonged to the Benedictine rule. Large abbeys had several cells dependent on them, often at long distances away, and here lived a few monks. The other order of Black Monks, the Cluniacs, founded to reform the older rule which had fallen into a lax habit, were in all their houses governed by priors chosen by and responsible to the abbot of Cluny. They came to this country in 1077, a century and a half after their foundation in Burgundy, and were introduced by William of Warenne who had visited the mother-house of Cluny, and of whom mention has been made in an earlier chapter of this book. They did not, however, gain any great hold upon the English, and the only abbey of their congregation was at Bermondsey.

In 1098 there was founded at Cîteaux in France the first house of the *Cistercian* order. Two men were mainly concerned in the formation of this congregation, Robert de Molesme and Stephen Harding, an Englishman, formerly a Benedictine monk of Sherborne. Harding formed the Cistercian rule, and may be said to be responsible for the spread of the order. The new brotherhood was founded upon principles of great austerity, and was designed to correct the habits of monastic life into which both the Benedictine and Cluniac orders had fallen. From a description of the original church at Cîteaux it may be seen that simplicity was much valued in the early days of the congregation, for in the decoration of the building no luxury was admitted, the high altar being ornamented with no more than a painted wooden cross. In the daily life at Cîteaux much austerity was practised; the monks sleeping upon straw with the abbot in their midst.[1]

[1] Vide *St. Stephen Harding*, by J. B. Dalgairns, chap. xv.

The order came to England in 1129, the first house being established at Waverley. It is a peculiarity of most Cistercian houses that they are to be found in lonely places, far removed from the vicinity of towns. The order became very popular in England and spread with great rapidity, so that there are now the remains of a great number of these monasteries throughout the country. They did not have small dependant cells, but sent out daughter-houses by which they colonised England. Thus one can make out a pedigree of Cistercian monasteries :—



Many a great baron helped in the work. Walter Espec, who fought at the battle of the Standard, was a benefactor of Rivaulx ; a Clare founded Tintern, and a Lacy founded Kirkstall. Fifty houses were set in order within twenty-five years, 1127 to 1152, a period which includes the anarchy of Stephen's so-called reign. Then the movement quieted down. England owed much to the Cistercians who helped to repopulate Yorkshire, and who devoted themselves to practical farming ; the monks were the managers, and the lay brethren or conversi were the labourers. There was something business-like in the way in which they got hold of men, convicted of sin or of carelessness of life, yet unwilling to become full professed monks, and set them to work out their penance by hard work on farms. The original simplicity of building, and we may suppose of the life, was not continued, and the most beautiful abbeys that we have left are generally those built by the White Monks. Such are Tintern, Beaulieu, and Fountains. It will not, perhaps, be out of place to give here some description of the last of these, and so to show that in the matter of building at least there was no lack of richness and state.

The growth of the importance and luxury of the foundation may be largely traced in the development of the abbey church.

The nave is Transition Norman, and was built in 1147. It is solid and plain in design. The aisles were obviously added after the nave was built, since attached shafts bearing their roofs are added to the main pillars of the nave. The transepts were built at the same time as the nave, and there was in the original church a much smaller choir than that which exists at present. The church of 1147 consisted, therefore, of a nave without aisles, transepts, and a small choir, the outlines of which may still be traced out. There was, probably, a small central tower to this church. In the first half of the thirteenth century the abbey must have been in a prosperous condition, and the tradition of simplicity in building seems to have disappeared; for there was at that time built the chief glory of Fountains, and one of the most beautiful Gothic buildings of England—the choir and the chapel of the Nine Altars. This extension of the old church is a very perfect specimen of Early English workmanship, and the very careful study of effect would show that the original ideals of Citeaux were abandoned in place of the most successful search for beauty. The erection of the Perpendicular tower, which stands at present, marks the fact that building was engaged in at Fountains until the Dissolution.

The domestic buildings of Fountains do much to show that the abbey became progressively more commodious and more comfortable. The chapter-house, which is later than the nave and was probably built about 1160, shows traces of Early English design and was undoubtedly built to replace an earlier and very likely a smaller building. On the east side of the cloister court there are Norman arches still to be seen, and on the south side of this court there is a round-headed door; these remains of early work would suggest that much of the cloister was entirely rebuilt. The common house, probably the locutorium or parlour, is placed at the south-east angle of the cloisters; the style of the building is Transition Norman, and, therefore, it was probably built at the same time as the nave. The refectory was erected about 1170; the building is large, being 109 feet long by 46 feet wide, and had originally a row of columns down the centre and somewhat elaborate windows; it may justly be assumed that when the new refectory—that is the building which at present stands—was set up, it was altogether more elaborate

and commodious than its predecessor. The cellarium, also known at Fountains as the great cloister, is itself of different dates, the north end being subsequent to the south; this should serve to show that a building as important as this head-quarters of the cellarer, which was probably also the house of the lay brethren, was not built and done with, but was added to and altered as need arose. Many of the other domestic buildings at Fountains are so ruinous that little of them, beyond the foundations, can now be seen; yet that which remains is enough to show them as numerous and extensive. The infirmary, or abbot's house as it is sometimes styled, was almost certainly largely added to from time to time, and became in the later years of monastic life at Fountains the place in which the community spent very much of their time.

Besides the beauty of the buildings and their situation, besides the architectural interest that is in it—for all the English styles from pure Norman to late Perpendicular may here be seen—Fountains Abbey offers to him who visits it the history of its gradual development, its increasing comfort, and its final very magnificent proportions.

The *Carthusian* order of monks, founded by St. Bruno at Chartreuse in 1086, did not come to England until 1222, and the order when established here never flourished greatly. The life was of more than usual austerity, and the monks, unlike any other order, lived in separate houses about the cloister. Each brother had at least three rooms and a small garden, and the monastic buildings, that is the church and other common buildings, were small and comparatively unimportant. At Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire there may still be seen the ruins of a Carthusian house. The Charterhouse in London is now much changed from the time when monks dwelt there, and to most men Colonel Newcome would come to the mind in this connection more readily than some austere monk. It was founded by Sir Walter Manny, or more accurately Mauny, the Hainaulter who stands out so prominently in the pages of Froissart, friend of Philippa and the Black Prince, original member of the Order of the Garter. After the Dissolution it passed through various hands, including those of a Duke of Norfolk, until purchased by Thomas Sutton. Very little of the original work remains; the staircase and hall are Elizabethan, the chapel Jacobean.

Fountains; south side of church and door by which monks entered for day services; cloisters and arches with chapter-house beyond; monks' dormitory above

Fountains west end of nave, and cellarer's offices over which the lay brethren slept; south transept beyond; guest-house to right *Face page* 278

Canons were clergy engaged in the service of a cathedral or large church. Corporations of canons were formed to live upon rules, like monks, and they were called "Canons Regular." There were three branches. The *Augustinians*, who wore a black habit and whose first English house was founded at Aldgate in 1105, had no more than two mitred abbeys under their rule, those of Waltham Cross and Cirencester, though the number of their houses in the country was very considerable. The White Canons of *Prémontré* were ruled from the central house, until in 1512 the Abbot of Welbeck was given the command of the order in England. The Premonstratensians were very much less numerous than the Black Canons. The third order of canons the *Gilbertines*, was named from its founder, Gilbert of Sempringham, about 1140, and for a time was very popular in England. The order was for both men and women, and in many cases the canons and canonesses lived in different parts of the same building; it was the only native English order.

There were four chief orders of *friars*, of which the *Dominicans* and the *Franciscans* are the most famous. It was originally intended that the friar should be a wandering preacher, vowed to poverty, and prevented by his profession from owning property. Early in their history this original idea would seem to have been forgotten, and the friars very soon began to build themselves monasteries, and to own land and other capital. The Dominicans, founded in 1216 by St. Dominic, established themselves in this country in 1222, and had at the time of the Dissolution many houses of friars and nuns about the country. In the later years of their foundation they quarrelled very violently with the Franciscans. Early in the thirteenth century St. Francis of Assisi founded the order of Franciscan Friars, or Minorites. The order came to England in 1224. The habit of the order was brown, and the friars wore a knotted cord about their waist and went barefoot. The first house of Minoresses in England was established by Clare, the sister of Francis, in 1295.

The other chief orders of friars were the *Carmelites* and the *Austin Friars*, of whom the latter lived as hermits.

There were besides many orders of lesser friars, who had no more than a few houses in England.

Two military orders existed in England: the Knights

Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem and the Knights Templars. The *Knights of St. John* came to England in 1100, and first settled at Clerkenwell; they founded many smaller houses or commanderies throughout the kingdom. The *Templars* came to England early in the reign of Stephen, and the name of their chief house in London is still preserved. At the suppression of their order the Temple became, what it is to-day, the house of lawyers. The round churches built by the Templars at the Temple in London, at Cambridge, and at Northampton are well known. The order was suppressed in 1312, and many of the dependent houses of the Temple were given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Such were the religious orders in England; that they became too numerous was, doubtless, instrumental to their downfall. Yet the monastic life of medieval England was not seriously affected by many of them, and it was only in the greater orders, the monks and the canons, that the real spirit of monasticism lay. The great monasteries became rich and so lost their simplicity, quarrelled with those above them, and endeavoured to keep their tenants in a strict subordination. Seeking greater power and influence they impropriated many parish churches, appointing vicars where there had been rectors, and appropriating much of the tithes to their own use.

They had done much for commerce, for the upkeep of the roads about their houses, and for the peasantry; but they were slow to move and would not bend to any change. In the Black Death they, being many under one roof, suffered very much: and in the Peasants' Revolt they were attacked with hatred by those who saw in them only great landlords. From these two blows they would seem to have been unable to recover; the numbers of the monks grew fewer, the fashion, as it were, seemed past for such a life; and from those who still took vows the simplicity seemed gone. It is very unjust to suppose them completely corrupted, or to picture them happy in a very mire of vice; the Commissioners of Henry VIII had a report to make, and made it, and the monasteries were not, most certainly, such as they vowed them to be. In any case the decadence was of a slow growth; and, though in the sixteenth century the great abbeys were still adding to their buildings, making their churches more beautiful and the lives

of the monks of greater comfort, though to the guest who stopped there the house had seemed of an irreproachable prosperity, their influence on the people, the chief defence and justification for the collection of so much power, had waned for many years, so that when the Dissolution came it found the houses declining to a comfortable old age.

Father Gasquet's list gives some ninety Benedictine houses for monks at the date of the Dissolution, without counting the cells, and as many nunneries; about a hundred Cistercian houses, thirty Cluniac, twenty-six Gilbertine, eight Carthusian, fifty-eight Dominican, and sixty-six Franciscan. Cathedrals which were served by monks were Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Durham, Gloucester.

In using the word " hospital " to-day there is in the minds of the majority of persons the picture of a benevolent institution, supported somewhat rarely by the endowment of some individual benefactor, more commonly by public subscription, in which the poor are treated for a time and then dismissed with their ills cured, or alleviated, or may be pronounced incurable, in which case they pass to some institution especially designed for the reception of such diseases. It has become more usual to regard as hospitals these houses where medical and surgical treatment is offered, and to apply the name of almshouse, infirmary, asylum, or some like term, to those establishments where the crippled, or indigent, or aged may find a home. This assignment of a name is an affair of quite recent origin, and may be said to date only from the time when medical relief began to play a large part in lessening the sufferings of the poor. The great hospitals of to-day are engaged in a work of such importance and distribute their assistance to so many persons, are become, indeed, so essential to the well-being of any large town, that it is by no means surprising, nor altogether unjust, that in popular speech they hold the monopoly of a name to which they have no exclusive right. Yet to seek for any institution of the modern kind—making due allowance for the great change that has come about in the business of healing the sick—in one of the hospitals of medieval times would be to set out on an unsuccessful quest. The old hospital was not a place to which a man with a temporary ill, a broken leg, an attack of some fever, might go, and, the matter seen to, pass on about

his business ; it was not a house where he might lie when sick, and having found health again go on his way. It was rather a charitable foundation to which the suffering, those whose fortune rather than whose bodies was not well, might come, and where they would find a home, and where they not uncommonly would dwell for the remainder of their lives.

Two institutions of a similar antiquity, established for the same purpose, and both in good repute to-day, emphasise in a very striking fashion the difference between the mediæval hospital and its present descendant: St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield, and the Hospital of St. Cross near Winchester. The one has developed, has become entirely changed, and is now a general hospital of the first importance ; the other has remained in its buildings and in its functions much as it was founded, being a home for certain aged poor. It should not be out of place to give some short account of the history of these two institutions.

A certain favourite of Henry I, one Rahere, founded in 1123 a hospital, to which was attached a priory ; the foundation exists to-day on the original site and is known as St. Bartholomew's Hospital. In its beginnings the institution was designed for the care of certain needy poor, who might find in it attention and a home. Richard Whittington, a lord mayor of London whose name is not unknown, paid much attention to this foundation, enlarged its buildings, and increased the scope of its charity ; yet the hospital was still attached to the priory [1] and had not altered its character, or the quality of the help it gave. At the suppression of the monasteries Henry VIII was careful that this charity should not disappear. St. Bartholomew's was refounded and again endowed. From that time the hospital has developed, growing with the needs of the time. When the necessity of giving free surgical and medical treatment to those who could not afford to buy it had become recognised, this old charity was altered to suit the new needs, public subscription was called in when the old endowment failed, and the present hospital, though in the character of its work as in the nature of its buildings altogether different from the foundation of Rahere and from the institution which Whittington enlarged,

[1] The priory was disestablished, and hardly anything remains but the transepts and chancel and part of the west entrance to the nave.

can yet point to a continuous history in which no period of inactivity is to be found.

The Hospital of St. Cross, just outside the city of Winchester, was founded in 1136 by Bishop Henry de Blois. Here—and the character of the medieval hospital is very well seen in this—thirteen old men were to be housed and fed, and certain doles were to be distributed to those outside. Cardinal Beaufort changed somewhat the character of the charity, based it more on the lines of a religious house, and for a time there appeared at St. Cross both monks and nuns. This new development was, however, done away with, the monks disappeared and the aged inhabitants again dwelt unmolested and without religious rivals. To-day there may be seen the very smallest change, and the hospital after a matter of eight centuries again houses thirteen old men, gives a certain charity to others outside, and distributes alms to the wayfarer who halts at the gate.

Between these two hospitals of St. Cross and St. Bartholomew there lie, in a manner of speaking, many centuries of change. The one is the old method, the other the chief branch of the new; to give a home to certain persons who suffer was the one, to give to all who come whatever immediate aid their bodies may require is the other.

But the old form of hospital is not yet dead; nor does it show any sign of an immediate disappearance. Throughout the country there are many institutions of a very similar nature to that of St. Cross at Winchester, and these are commonly of some antiquity. There is scarcely a small town in England that has not some almshouse, where the aged poor, who have been judged sufficiently deserving, may finish their lives in comfort. There is no occasion to name examples of such foundations, a thing so common has no need of illustration. At Winchester and at Chichester [1] age gives to these hospitals a certain priority; in other places they are to be found of quite recent origin; in all cases their history will not be hard to trace since they still live. It is, indeed, very common to find the name and arms of the benefactor inscribed on the building itself.

[1] The hospital at Chichester is built like a church; the nave is not consecrated and is occupied by eight sets of rooms, and beondy the screen the chancel is consecrated for service.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND

To discuss the question of commerce and industry one has to seek the reasons of the growth of towns, and no student of his own locality can pass by such a question. Yet towns rise to importance for many reasons. There may be a natural inlet from the sea and a well-populated hinterland, so that the coming and going of trade follows. A castle, a cathedral, an abbey, a bridge or ford, may make a centre of population, and then the traders are attracted. It is natural to find each district having its local capital, fixed as such by the needs of the Saxon and Danish war, then becoming a strong royal borough under the Normans and furnished with its castle, attracting it may be the bishop of the diocese to fix there his seat which had been formerly at some small town, and attracting also the King's judges when they come on circuit. Thus Norwich which displaced Thetford as a bishop's see, Exeter which displaced Crediton, Winchester and York which were sees already, show many reasons why they were provincial capitals; London had the further advantage of not being too local, and already under the Confessor was national, whereas Winchester was but the centre of old Wessex and York of Northumbria.

Winchester might have languished after the Conquest had it not been on the bridge between London and Normandy. Hampshire lies opposite the projecting bit of Normandy and is served by nature's most generous harbour, Southampton Water; so the bridge was formed, and Guildford, Basing, Winchester, Southampton were the piers, between the capital of the kingdom and the coast of the duchy. Naturally a fair was instituted at Winchester as at the most convenient centre behind the port, where moreover the valleys and lines of down converge; had Winchester only had its historical

associations as the home of Alfred and a bishop's seat, perhaps the Normans might have neglected it. The castle at the upper end, Wolvesey Palace at the lower, show that the Normans did not neglect it, though the great hall of the castle is Early English and not Norman. Time has dealt leniently with Southampton, and much medieval work has been spared, for modern commercialism would certainly have made a clean sweep of everything old except for the lucky fact that the western water was not deep enough, and the great docks for monster steamers have been placed to the south and east just out of reach of the medieval town. Thus a bar, a good deal of wall, two Norman houses called after Canute and King John, a wool-house, and other bits of buildings, remain to satisfy antiquarians.

Let us pass to the east and see how well Cambridge was served by the Roman road from the coast. Under Danes and Saxons it was already a burgh, because of its road and bridge. Icknield Way was not far off. It was in the neck of land between fen and forest. Thus the great fair of Stourbridge was naturally a rendezvous, when the goods from Flanders were brought inland. The University clearly came to the trade-centre, not trade to the educational town. On the other side of the fens were the fairs of Stamford and Boston, whence commerce could penetrate inland up the Welland and Witham. The older University was settled at Oxford, an important burgh, a bridge place, a military centre around whose castle much fighting took place. At one time owing to various troubles, North Country and South Country students being too fond of quarrelling, some masters seceded and took away their pupils. They fixed on Stamford as a town of repute and commerce, and tried to settle there to teach, but Edward III interfered and ordered the sheriff to confiscate goods and books. So the secession failed to create a third university, but the choice of Stamford is significant.

Every bridge place on the Thames has had its importance. The Romans crossed at Staines, the Saxons made Wallingford the great burgh of Berkshire, Dorchester had its day for a short time, Windsor was the favourite of the Plantagenets. But medieval Reading outstripped these. It would be impossible to calculate what Reading owed to its abbey, founded by Henry I. The monastic buildings were truly vast, and it

was a most influential house; in 1199 Abbot Hugh was called to be head of the parent-house at Cluny and therefore of the whole Cluniac order. Yet, doubtless, the abbey owed much to its position. Peterborough grew up around its abbey, and here again the position helped; as Stamford and Boston to the Welland and Witham, so was Peterborough to the Nen; already before the Conquest it was one of the greatest houses of England, for the Conqueror proceeded to demand a service of no less than sixty knights, as many as from Canterbury or Winchester or Lincoln. On the other hand we can be certain that no tiny city would have risen in the very midst of the fens had not monks settled at Ely. The transference of the bones of St. Edmund to Beodericsworth, and the construction of a worthy shrine to hold them in 1020, created both monastery and town at Bury.

In some places the Saxons, in other places the Danes originally and the kings of Alfred's lines succeeding them, had their burghs as military centres. Most of these lived on as Norman royal burghs with royal castles dominating them, and we call them county towns. But not every county town was in such a position as to grow in importance. Bedford was not on a Roman road; but Dunstable was at the crossing of the Icknield Way with Watling Street; here people had met before there actually was a town and here was acted the earliest miracle play, and here Henry I founded a priory; therefore the royal judges held their assizes at Dunstable rather than Bedford. Huntingdon was better placed, being at the apex of converging Roman roads which ran on northwards as a single main road, but otherwise was not famous. Hertford and Buckingham were quite insignificant; Hertford on only a few occasions, and Buckingham never, sent members to Parliament till Henry VIII's reign. Newcastle, Durham, Carlisle, were fortresses which became county towns; and the same is true of Chester and Shrewsbury, both of them yet recalling by their medieval walls the days when they were outposts against Wales. Wherever we wander in England and Wales we find little towns around castles, those which from Norman days lived under "The Laws of Breteuil"[1] with their population partly descended from the Norman and French retainers of the earliest Norman

[1] See above, p. 183.

settlement, such as Ludlow, Hereford, Barnstaple, Preston; those which are peopled with English colonists by Edward I, such as Conway and Caernarvon and Beaumaris; those which sprang up round the great baronial centres, Clare and Tunbridge, Arundel, Launceston, Castle Rising, Tamworth, Richmond in Yorkshire, Pomfret, also royal New Windsor.

The following tables will give some idea of medieval England developing into modern England, yet before railways and before Reform. It need not be supposed that the number of boroughs sending burgesses to the Commons is a clue to the richest and most thickly populated parts of England. Even before the Tudors created boroughs, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Worcestershire were absurdly overrepresented under one or other of the Edwards in proportion to Kent and Essex and East Anglia. We seem to see a wish on the part of the Edwards to create "pocket boroughs," little towns which were under royal influence, as in the earldom, afterwards the duchy, of Cornwall. Yet the palatine counties had no parliamentary boroughs till Henry VIII's reign, and Durham, indeed, not till Charles II's. The tables show in brackets towns which sent members on a few occasions and then ceased, through either their own fault or royal neglect. In some cases the Tudors, in some cases the Long Parliament on its own initiative, restored representation. The deliberate Tudor policy of creating boroughs where the Crown could bring pressure is notorious; let us notice in particular such a little village as Higham Ferrers in Northants, which formed part of the earldom of Derby and came to the House of Lancaster, and which Mary summoned to send one member as it was thus royal. Yet it so happens that some of the strongest opponents of Tudor and Stuart kings sat for small boroughs.

PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHS [1]

	Edward I	Edward II to Henry VI	Edward IV onwards
Beds	Bedford		
Berks	Reading Wallingford	(Newbury) (Windsor)	New Windsor: Edw. IV Abingdon: Eliz.

[1] Figures abstracted from a parliamentary paper printed in 1877.

	Edward I	Edward II to Henry VI	Edward IV onwards
Bucks	Wycombe	(Amersham) (Marlow) (Wendover)	Buckingham : Henry VIII Aylesbury : Mary Amersham : Chas. I Marlow : Chas. I Wendover : Chas. I
Cambs	Cambridge (Ely)		
Cheshire			Chester : Henry VIII
Cornwall	Bodmin Helston Launceston Liskeard (Tregoney) Truro	Lostwithiel : Edw. II (Looe) (Polruan)	Bossiney : Edw. VI Camelford : Edw. VI Grampound : Edw. VI Looe : Edw. VI Michael : Edw. VI Saltash : Edw. VI Penryn : Mary Newport (Launceston): Mary St. Ives : Mary St. Germans : Eliz. St. Mawes : Eliz. Tregoney : ,, Fowey : Eliz. West Looe: Eliz. Callington : ,,
Cumberland	Carlisle (Cockermouth) (Egremont)		Cockermouth : Chas. I
Derbyshire	Derby		
Devon	Barnstaple Exeter Plympton Tavistock (Torrington) Totnes	(Ashburton) Dartmouth (Plymouth) (Honiton) (Lydford) (Okehampton) (South Molton) (Modbury)	Plymouth : Edw. IV Bere Alston : Eliz. Tiverton : Jas. I Honiton: Chas.I Okehampton : Chas. I

	Edward I	Edward II to Henry VI	Edward IV onwards
Dorset	Bridport Dorchester Lyme Regis Shaftesbury	Wareham Melcombe Weymouth Poole (Blandford)	Corfe Castle : Eliz.
Essex	Colchester	Maldon: Edw.III (Harwich)	Harwich : Jas. I
Gloucestershire	Gloucester Bristol		Cirencester : Eliz. Tewkesbury : James I
Hants	(Alresford) (Alton) (Andover) (Basingstoke) (Overton) Portsmouth Southampton Winchester (Yarmouth)	(Odiham)	Petersfield : Edw. VI Andover : Eliz. Christ Church : Eliz. Lymington : Eliz. Newport: Eliz. Newtown : Eliz. Stockbridge ,, Whitchurch ,, Yarmouth ,,
Herefordshire	Hereford Leominster (Ledbury) (Weobley)	(Ross)	Weobley : Chas. I
Herts		(Hertford) (St. Albans) (Stortford) (Berkhampsted) (Ware)	St. Albans : Mary Hertford : Chas. I
Hunts	Huntingdon		
Kent	Canterbury Rochester (Tunbridge)		Maidstone : Edw. VI Queenborough : Eliz.
Lancashire	(Lancaster) (Liverpool) (Preston) (Wigan)		Lancaster : Henry VIII Preston : Henry VIII Liverpool : Edw. VI Wigan : Edw.VI Clitheroe : Eliz. Newton ,,

	Edward I	Edward II to Henry VI	Edward IV onwards
Leicestershire	Leicester		
Lincolnshire	Lincoln Grimsby (Stamford)	(Boston) (Waynflete)	Stamford : Edw. IV Grantham : Henry VIII Boston: Edw.VI
Middlesex	London		Westminster : Edw. VI
Norfolk	Norwich Lynn Yarmouth		Thetford : Edw. VI Castle Rising : Mary
Northants	Northampton		Peterborough : Edw. VI Brackley : Edw. VI Higham Ferrers : Mary
Northumb.	Newcastle (Bamborough) (Corbridge)	(Tynemouth)	Berwick : Henry VIII Morpeth : Mary
Notts	Nottingham		East Retford : Eliz. Newark: Chas.II
Oxfordshire	Oxford	(Chipping Norton) (Dadington) (Woodstock)	Banbury : Mary Woodstock : ,,
Shropshire	Bridgnorth Shrewsbury		Ludlow : Edw. IV Much Wenlock : Edw. IV Bishops Castle Eliz.
Somerset	(Axbridge) Bath Bridgwater Taunton Wells	(Ilchester) (Milborne) (Watchet) (Chard) (Langport) (Montacute) (Dunster)	Minehead : Eliz. Ilchester : Jas. I Milborne : Chas. I
Staffs	Stafford	Newcastle-under-Lyme : Edw. III	Lichfield : Edw. VI Tamworth : Eliz.

	Edward I	Edward II to Henry VI	Edward IV onwards
Suffolk		Dunwich Ipswich (Orford) (Bury)	Orford : Henry VIII Aldeburgh : Eliz. Eye : Eliz. Sudbury ,, Bury : James I
Surrey	(Blechingley) Guildford (Reigate) Southwark	Blechingley : Edw. III Reigate	Gatton : Edw. IV Haslemere : Eliz.
Sussex	Chichester Arundel Bramber Shoreham Lewes Horsham	(Seaford) Grinstead Midhurst Steyning	
Warwickshire	Warwick (Coventry)		Coventry : Edw. IV
Westmoreland	Appleby		
Wiltshire[1]	Bedwin (Bradford) Calne Chippenham Cricklade Devizes Downton Ludgershall Malmesbury Marlborough Old Sarum Salisbury Wilton	(Mere)	Hinton : Edw. IV Heytesbury : Edw. IV Westbury : Edw. IV Wootton Basset : Edw. IV
Worcestershire	Worcester (Bromsgrove) (Droitwich) (Dudley) (Evesham) (Kidderminster) (Pershore)		Droitwich : Mary Evesham : James I Bewdley : James I
Yorkshire	York Scarborough (Beverley)	(Northallerton) Hull : Edw. II (Hedon)	Heydon : Edw. VI Thirsk : Edw. VI

[1] The list of the Wilts boroughs returning members varies very much through two centuries.

	Edward I	Edward II to Henry VI	Edward IV onwards
Yorkshire	(Hedon) (Malton) (Pickering) (Pomfret) (Ripon) (Thirsk) (Tickhill) (Yarm)	(Ravenser)	Boroughbridge : Mary Knaresborough: Mary Ripon : Mary Aldborough : Mary Beverley : Eliz. Richmond ,, Pomfret : James I Malton : Chas. I Northallerton : Chas. I
Cinque Ports summoned separately		Dover : Edw. II Hastings ,, Hythe ,, New Romney : Edw. II Rye : Edw. II Winchelsea : Edw. II Sandwich: Edw.II	Seaford : Chas. I Calais : Henry VIII
Wales		(Beaumaris[1] : Edw. II) (Caernarvon : Edw. II) (Conway: Edw.II)	Twelve boroughs : Henry VIII

Let us look forward and find the traces which yet remain of the old parliamentary system. The last Reform Bill in 1885 decreed that boroughs then represented in the Commons by two members might keep one if the population was over 18,000, both if over 40,000 ; otherwise, representation was to be in the proportion of one member to about 70,000 inhabitants. Consequently several historic towns saved one or both.

Voters below 3000 : Bury St. Edmund's : Durham.
,, 4000 : Winchester, Salisbury, King's Lynn, Taunton, Falmouth and Penryn, Windsor, *Whitehaven*, Grantham, Canterbury, Pomfret.

[1] In the year 1327 only ; see p. 224.

Voters below 5000 : Stafford, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Boston, Kidderminster.
,, 6000 : Rochester.
,, 7000 : Bedford, Peterborough, Maidstone, Hythe, Dover, Scarborough, Warwick with Leamington, *Gravesend.*[1]
,, 8000 : Colchester, Carlisle.
,, 9000 : Worcester, Gloucester, Chester.

Those with the smallest voting strength which still keep their two members are Bath 8100 voters, Northampton 12,580, Ipswich 12,100, York 14,000.

It is very obvious that the old ports of England have in many cases decayed, and that this is due in large measure to the changed burden of the ships that now convey the country's merchandise. Where ships of shallow draft and small tonnage might pass safely at low tide the great vessels of to-day could not enter on the top of the flood ; and so we now have fewer ports, but all of a greater commodity. The illustration of this matter is, perhaps, as easy to come upon as that of any fact in all our history. No man can travel much about the coasts of England and fail—unless he be a person of singular lack of perception—to notice that most of the small towns and villages, where nature has provided some sheltered anchorage, have in their churches, their houses, or their records, evidences of an importance and prosperity that is gone ; and that in not a few of them there lingers the tradition of a great seaport now dead. There are three groups of ancient seaports that were at one time engaged in a keen commercial rivalry but which at the present day are sunk, for the most part, in the same inactive senility : these three groups are the Cinque Ports, the ports of East Anglia, and the ports of the south-west. A brief survey of their general history should serve to illustrate the fate of many of the old harbours of England.

There was, perhaps, some federation of the seaports of Kent and Sussex before 1066 ; such is the opinion of Mr. Oppenheim, and he would certainly seem to be supporting a strong probability. It is certain, however, that the Norman Kings granted privileges to the five ports, Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Hastings, demanding from them ships—

[1] Names in italics do not occur in the foregoing list.

a total of 57 ships for unpaid service for 15 days—in return for the right of self-government. Dover and Sandwich stand out as the most important of the five, and owed 21 ships each, being evidently in a prosperous state when the Conqueror came to England; Sandwich took the place of the Roman port of Richborough, three miles away, and its earthen ramparts suggest very strongly its Saxon origin, having much of the appearance of those of Wareham. Romney, Hythe, and Hastings, owing five ships each, were of much less importance than the other two, although they also ranked in the Middle Ages as seaports of the first class. Two other ports, Winchelsea and Rye, were added to the five in early times, and were thereafter affected by the writs which dealt with the Cinque Ports. Situated on the Rother a little from the sea, Rye exactly occupies a hill, and although it was easily accessible to the ships of the time, it is so placed that much expansion was impossible; the narrow streets and cramped appearance of the little town, to which it owes a charm and a picturesque beauty that is very striking, being born of a stern necessity. At New Winchelsea there is no such limitation; the town, built on its present site in the reign of Edward I to take the place of Old Winchelsea, was then on the top of a flat cliff above the sea, but changes in the coast-line have now left it nearly two miles from the water; the circuit of the old walls was about two miles, its streets and spaces were wide, and there was room for it to expand if increasing prosperity should encourage such a step. To these seven ports were added twenty others, the whole number being under the control of the warden and officers of the Cinque Ports; but the original five were spoken of as the mother-ports, the twenty-two others being the daughters or dependants. The group of Cinque Ports, though their rivals were already beginning to threaten them, were at the height of their prosperity under Edward I, and they alone supplied him with a fleet, yet not the full number of 57, for war on the Welsh coast; after their fifteen days of due service they took the King's pay for the rest of the campaign. But we find that in later reigns they contributed fewer ships. The roll of the army and navy which besieged Calais is no longer in existence, and though several copies of it have been preserved, unluckily they give different figures in several cases as to ships and men. Judging from

this roll we see the Cinque Ports sending ships separately, and no longer as a group. The fleet was divided into two divisions, the northern and the southern, the estuary of the Thames being the boundary. Even if the figures be thought to be unreliable they are worthy of examination, and the average number of men to each ship will give some idea of size.

SOUTHERN FLEET

	Ships	Men		Ships	Men
The King	25	429	Fowey	47	770
London	25	662	Bristol	23	608
Sandwich	22	502	Plymouth	26	603
Winchelsea	21	596	Southampton	21	576
Dover	16	336	Shoreham	20	329
Rye	9	156	Looe	20	325
Hythe	6	122	Exmouth	10	193
Hastings	5	84	Teignmouth	7	120
Romney	4	65	Portsmouth	5	96
Weymouth	15	263	Poole	4	94
Dartmouth	31	757	Wareham	3	59

NORTHERN FLEET

	Ships	Men		Ships	Men
Yarmouth	43	1095	Harwich	14	284
Lynn	19	386	Gosford	13	303
Boston	17	361	Ipswich	12	239
Newcastle	17	314	Grimsby	11	165
Hull	16	466	Colchester	5	95

Altogether the south provided 493 ships and 9630 men, and the north 217 ships and 4521 men. There is some interest in comparing this list of ports with the lists of boroughs, for we can see which coast towns were important enough to receive the King's summons for Parliament as well as to provide ships in his pay. Hull and Dartmouth, for instance, having once secured representation, though not in Edward I's reign, kept it without interruption.

At Southwold stands a great church in proof of a vanished prosperity, and close by the little port of Walberswick, in these days the working ground of artists rather than of sea-

men, speaks of days when ships were smaller and the ports smaller and more numerous than is now the case. Farther south upon the same coast there stands a ruined church upon the cliff edge, and every year the sea makes a further theft on this old relic, so that the chancel is now gone and the walls of the nave are already shortened. Behind the church, as yet untouched by the sea, is the ruin of a monastery of Grey Friars; not far off the few cottages of the village. Here local tradition—which need not be believed in all its details—will tell strange stories of a great town that once flourished where is now the sea, of forty churches all gone but the ruin on the cliff-top, and of a prosperity and riches that were very great. Yet though the forty churches may be divided, and though the enthusiasm of the inhabitants leads them to a pleasant exaggeration, there is much truth in their tale; for this group of ruins is all that remains of Dunwich, once one of the chief ports of England, now long fallen into decay. From Roman times the port would seem to have been busy, though always much troubled by the inroads of the sea. Early in the eleventh century the town was inundated; was built again by the Normans and again flourished; suffered much from a tempest in 1289 and was finally ruined by a great storm, which, it is said, swept away four hundred houses in 1329. After this storm Dunwich never came back to its old prosperity; its history became the story of its destruction, its chief events the recurrent disappearance of one or other of its remaining churches. To-day when nothing but the half of one church and the walls of one monastic building are left, when the River Blythe no longer flows, as it once did, through the township to the sea, there is nothing to mark its former greatness but the mention of its prosperity in certain records of the past.

It does not seem that the east ports became very important or obtained any very recognised position until the end of the twelfth century; but from that time onward until their decline they occupied a prominent position and were very serious and powerful rivals to the Cinque Ports, with whom they were constantly disputing. The Crown, at any rate in the early thirteenth century, relied chiefly on Dunwich to supply ships; and at this time the writs which were issued to the Cinque Ports often included the Suffolk seaport as

well. Such was the case in 1236 and 1242. Indeed it is very clear that until its sudden destruction and decline Dunwich was the most considerable coast town of the east of England, and one of the most important in the country. In 1205 Ipswich was ordered to prepare for the royal use two ships, whereas Dunwich prepared five; in 1229 Dunwich was asked for the great total of forty ships, afterwards remitted to thirty; and again in 1235 Dunwich sends two ships while Yarmouth and Southampton send not more than one apiece. In 1279 there were said to be eighty large ships in the port; and in 1275 a ship of 125 tons engaged in the wine trade with Gascony. Early in the fourteenth century the decline of Dunwich, which was assured by the storm of 1329, had begun to set in, and in 1310 Ipswich had passed its old rival and supplied two ships to the other's one. In 1570 Aldeburgh and Southwold had both grown more important, and Dunwich seems fixed in a very secondary position, for at that time there were 320 seamen in Aldeburgh, 192 in Southwold, and not more than 108 in Dunwich. Ipswich, which in the appended list has taken the chief place, was in the sixteenth century upon a wave of great prosperity and very busily engaged in ship-building; in 1588 it was leaving behind it its old rival Woodbridge, and in 1595 was turning out vessels of upwards of 300 tons for merchants and shipowners in London.

Thomas Colehill's list of ships belonging to the Suffolk ports quoted by Mr. Oppenheim in the *Suffolk* V.C.H. gives:—

	Ships of 100 tons and over	of 50–100	of 20–50	of 20 and under
Ipswich	5	12	10	11
Woodbridge	2	—	4	8
Aldeburgh	1	8	13	12
Orford	—	1	1	1
Dunwich	—	1	3	2
Southwold	1	2	4	10
Walberswick	—	2	3	13
Gorleston	—	—	—	1
Lowestoft	—	1	7	8

Bishop's Lynn, now King's Lynn, has had a prosperous life and is not yet entirely deserted. But Yarmouth altogether eclipses the other Norfolk ports, not only because of the

fisheries, but also because it was the place of outlet for Norwich, and Norwich was the first provincial inland town to rise to greatness. Further on we have Stamford and Boston. Boston was originally but a port to Lincoln, then it became a " staple " town where wool could be collected and stored as well as shipped, and the German merchants of the Hanseatic League made it one of their posts. When in 1285 some rowdy young gentlemen looted and killed at Boston fair, there was great excitement all over England. The church tower, the celebrated " Stump," visible for miles as a beacon and landmark but quite out of proportion to the church if one studies it at close quarters, dates from the early fourteenth century.

There are in Cornwall many quiet villages whose maritime importance was at one time not inconsiderable, and whose history may be noticed. There is little authentic history of the Cornish seaports before the reign of John, but it was seen that at the beginning of the thirteenth century they were in a prosperous state ; so that there is no reason to suppose that they were in 1200 at all recently established. In 1205, however, no ships were sent to the King from any of the ports between Bristol and Exeter, and in 1224 the writ for the levying of ships did not run beyond Dartmouth. But in 1230 Fowey and Falmouth contributed vessels to the King's Navy ; in 1301 Looe and Fowey sent one ship each for the Scotch War ; and in 1302 Looe, Saltash, and Portpilham together sent one, and Lostwithiel, Bodmin, Fowey, and Polruan another. In the fourteenth century Falmouth, Fowey, Looe, Polruan, and Padstow are mentioned as the chief ports in Cornwall, and they would seem to have been of a fair importance.

These towns of the south-west go in pairs ; we find one inland, and it may be served by the tide, one on a natural harbour at the sea, Exeter and Exmouth, Newton Abbot and Teignmouth, Totnes and Dartmouth, Kingsbridge and Salcombe, Plympton and Plymouth, Lostwithiel and Fowey, Truro and Falmouth. This feature is absent in the east, though we have already noticed the relation of Lincoln to Boston, Norwich to Yarmouth. Exeter, Totnes, Plympton, Lostwithiel, Truro, we have seen in our parliamentary lists ; Exmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Fowey, Teignmouth, in the navy list of 1347. We can picture in the one set of towns

a population of merchants, exporting wool and importing Gascony wine, men of substance whom the King wishes to tax and invites to send members to Parliament who will offer the taxes; and in the other set a race of fishermen or seamen, useful carriers of the wool and wine, therefore useful carriers of troops to Calais, but not important enough to be represented in the Commons. One of them stands out conspicuously; Dartmouth supplies the biggest contingent of ships, and after Edward I is also a parliamentary borough. Probably nobody can refer to medieval Dartmouth without recalling Chaucer's shipman, "For ought I woot he was of Dertemouthe." He sailed to Bordeaux and stole wine. He knew the creeks of Brittany and Spain. Good and daring seaman, unscrupulous trader, a bit of a pirate, or let us call him a free trader, he was the forerunner of the race of the Drakes and Hawkins; he and his like won at Sluys and helped to reduce Calais. The figures of the Dartmouth squadron no one would challenge, and we notice a good average of men to each ship. Yet the ships of London and Southampton have a larger average. Plymouth also has twenty-three men per ship. But the figures for Fowey are puzzling, a large contingent, yet only sixteen men to a crew. Mr. Oppenheim[1] considers the list to be unreliable as a clue to population and importance of these ports; he supposes that various other little places contributed with Fowey, but that their names are not mentioned. Yet we have the fact that Lostwithiel was a parliamentary borough, and the corresponding harbour-town may well have reared a good breed of sailors; the evidence in favour of Fowey, even if the copyists of this particular list do not agree precisely, is strong. Of course, one has to remember that not all the 700 ships and 14,000 sailors of the year 1347 were by profession men-of-war. We have to think of the ships as mainly transports and victuallers, the bigger ones ready also to fight, and of the men as fishermen or traders whose rough life made them naturally pugnacious.

There is a point in regard to the history of the ports of England which should be remembered, although it is not a matter that leaves any sign of its existence behind: it is the very keen rivalry that formerly existed, not only between the various groups of seaports, but amongst the individual

[1] *Cornwall* V.C.H.

towns of each group. This jealousy of a neighbour's prosperity was as often as not expressed in a very forcible manner, and led to very violent breaking of the King's Peace amounting almost to civil warfare; thus Dunwich would quarrel with Walberswick and Southwold, Ipswich with Harwich, Poole with Wareham. In 1297 a fleet composed of vessels from the Cinque Ports and the East Ports took Edward I and his army to Flanders, starting from New Winchelsea, and, when the transportation was accomplished, indulged in a private battle amongst themselves. It may be conjectured that this is no isolated instance, for the towns did not love to turn out vessels for the King's service, and the seamen engaged upon the royal business would very likely be in such a frame of mind that an attack upon their rivals would afford them considerable relief. And we have this fact also; in 1346 the fleet took Edward III and his army from Portsmouth Harbour to Normandy, the men enjoyed themselves in plundering and in destroying all the Norman shipping—and quite rightly according to their ideas, for the Normans would have done and often did the same on our coast—and then with their ships full of loot they took French leave, deserted their King, and left him and the army stranded in Normandy! Edward managed to get through a letter to his ministers, denouncing the deserters, demanding punishment, and ordering at once a new fleet. He finally fought at Crécy at bay waiting for the new fleet, which indeed turned up soon after the victory; then in place of coming home he took advantage of his success and besieged Calais. Thus we connect our ports with the great events of history. Edward I in 1297 sailed from New Winchelsea when matters were strained between him and his barons on the question of the Confirmation of the Charters. Edward III in 1346 himself embarked at Porchester, and other parts of his fleet collected at Portsmouth. He embarked at Sandwich in 1359 for the great campaign which ended in the treaty of Brétigny. Henry V in 1415 sailed from Southampton to Harfleur. We have also to reflect that during the Hundred Years' War the seamen of England by no means always carried everything before them. French and particularly Norman ships sailed often enough to our coast, and towns were burned, after being plundered, the whole way from Rye to Bristol. The battle of Sluys brought relief after 1340, and before Crécy,

as we just now saw, the Norman ports and towns were systematically plundered in revenge. But in Edward III's later days of defeat, and in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV and Henry VI, the French had the upper hand again. In fact war was as chronic in the Channel, even when the kings were at peace, as on the Scottish border. But the French and English seamen, being rivals in commerce and fishing, were more bitter against each other than the Scots and English on land.

The decline of many old ports was partly natural, partly due to human agency. Our geography books tell us of the "Law of the Eastward Drift," and how thousands of tons of shingle have been thrown up on our south coast till one wonders that there ever could have been harbours at Hastings or Winchelsea. On the rival coast the enemy has been sand; Ambleteuse whence St. Augustine sailed, Wissant where Edward I or Edward III often landed, Boulogne itself, have been invaded by sand, and, though both Louis XIV and Napoleon dredged out the harbours and tried to create posts from which England could be threatened, sand has filled them up again; only in the late nineteenth century has Boulogne been saved by the construction of an enormous breakwater. Therefore we have to see what human agency has done to preserve some ports, and the result has been that commerce has been confined to the few large harbours to the detriment of the many small ones. The reign of Henry VIII is the starting-point. The Fraternity of the Holy Trinity, incorporated at Deptford in 1514, may have been the reconstitution of an older body for the protection of Thames pilots; the arsenal was founded at Deptford; a pair of forts were built opposite to each other at Gravesend and Tilbury to defend and cover the approach of London's commerce. But it is in the improvements about the year 1545 that the beginnings of modern ports may be found. At this time piers were built at Dover and Scarborough, and this is an advance which is of the utmost importance. In Devon and Cornwall many harbours, notably Plymouth, Dartmouth, Fowey, and Falmouth, had suffered much injury from mining operations, the ports being silted up with refuse from the mines; steps were at this time taken to put an end to this state of things and to ensure that the entrance should not in any way be blocked. Winchelsea

and Rye, which had fallen into a very ruinous state, were in 1549 rebuilt.

Though no date can be fixed in such a matter, here, at this time, is evidence of the passing of the old natural anchorage and the birth of a harbour that owes much to artifice. The habit has continued, and likely will continue, to make use as far as is possible of natural shelter, but when the custom was established of building piers to increase the shelter given by the land the number of small harbours was inevitably doomed. Where ships of a considerable draft are used, where internal communication is well developed so that the port is easily connected with the districts which it serves, although not immediately adjacent to them, where harbours are largely artificial and very costly to make, they will tend to be few and all of a certain standard of importance, since if they are not of a certain size and equipped in a certain fashion they are only accessible to a very restricted trade.

The reason, therefore, of the decline of so many ports that were prosperous in the Middle Ages is not hard to seek. Instances of their decline may be very commonly found. Bideford, Barnstaple, and other of the Devon ports that equipped ships which went adventuring in the Spanish main, to-day do little but harbour coasting vessels. Their accommodation being insufficient for the vessels of our time, trade has passed from them. On the other hand ports which are advantageously situated for trading purposes, but which are not able to offer any natural shelter for anchorage, have sprung into existence and prosperity in many parts of the coast. Of such ports Cardiff is a very excellent example; the place is well situated to ship the coal from the South Wales collieries, in consequence it has greatly increased in size and in prosperity during the last fifty years, but the natural advantages of a harbour are here altogether lacking.

The mind naturally runs next to the great work of enterprise of the Great Western Railway, the purely artificial station at Fishguard. Plymouth owes her present prosperity to the breakwater which protects the outer roads, for the inner harbour and the Cattewater would be insufficient for modern needs. But Southampton Water already defended by nature's breakwater, the Isle of Wight, and served by its double set of tides, requires no art to come to its aid.

During the Middle Ages there was seldom any freedom of commercial enterprise. Merchants were forced to go to certain towns, and might not land goods where they chose. Edward I named certain ports and forced the wool-trade into fixed channels in order to facilitate the collection of customs. Edward III developed these regulations, making the merchants of the Staple a highly organised body. The origin of the Staple is somewhat obscure; it is sufficient to recognise it as a powerful commercial body endowed with many powers and more particularly the right to fix trade in certain channels. In 1313 the merchants of the Staple had a mayor and were in an organised state. Whether this body, to which Edward II granted a patent, was a direct descendant of the corporation of Henry III's time is doubtful. These merchants of the Staple were settled about the country and were not confined to London; wherever there was a Staple town, that is where there was a body of Staple merchants, there was also a port which served that town and through which the goods supplied to the Staple merchants must pass: Yarmouth served Norwich in this fashion, and Sandwich served Canterbury. When the organisation of the Staple declined, and commerce became freer, the old ports which had been fostered by a monopoly of trade often fell into decay and happened upon very evil days. Thus a discussion of ports leads us on to the consideration of industry, of the wool and skins to which medieval England owed everything.

It is an unfortunate circumstance, but one from which there is no escape, that the remains of systems of industry and commerce earlier than our own are almost altogether gone from the country, resting, where they do rest, in records rather than in buildings or in customs still in force. To seek to trace the old order of industrial life from the remnants that still remain is a very hopeless task. Yet it would not be fitting that no mention of the history of the industrial life of England should be made because the chances of catching some glimpse of the former methods are so small; therefore this section has been written that, in so far as may be, the threads that are not broken may be gathered up.

In medieval times the rearing of sheep and the making of cloth was the staple industry of England. It is not necessary to point out that a great change has come upon the country

in this matter, and that what was no longer is. The importance of the industry has declined, is deposed from its supremacy, and the site of the weaving is often changed. Yet though there has, in this industry as in others, arisen a tendency to settle in the north, there are still certain parts of England where the tradition of cloth-making may be carried far back into the Middle Ages, finding its origin in the policy of Edward III or some monarch engaged upon the same endeavour.

In the twelfth century weaving in towns would not appear to have been uncommon; in the thirteenth it is clear that it was greatly fostered. English wool, it seems, had no rival at home and was exported to Venice and to Santiago. Simon de Montfort and after him Edward I did much to encourage native production, to cause men not only to grow wool but to weave it. It is in large measure to their efforts that the cloth trade of the West of England owed its birth. Edward III, seeing great importance in the encouragement of weaving in England and in discouraging the prosperity of the trade of the low countries, did much to induce Flemish weavers to settle in his dominions. To this end he, in 1331, granted protection to one John Kemp to come with his family, and his apprentices, and his servants, and to settle in this country, there to carry on his trade and to teach it to others. This protection to John Kemp was not unique and many other weavers would seem to have come into England about this date; the industry gaining much advantage from their presence. Indeed the growing of wool, in consequence of the increase in the industry of weaving, was become so important that men took to enclosing land for sheep-rearing to the detriment of arable farming. In 1388 it became illegal for any child who had worked at husbandry until twelve years of age to be set thereafter to a trade. And it had before this been enacted that none but freeholders with twenty shillings a year might apprentice their children to an industry. In the middle of the sixteenth century the fashion of making great tracts of land into sheep-runs being considered a danger to the well-being of the State, Acts were passed to prevent men from this habit. It would, indeed, seem very clear that England was considerably engaged in the wool-trade and in weaving, and that for that reason other businesses were somewhat disregarded.

The outline of the history of cloth-making and silk-weaving in Canterbury should not be out of place here; from it an idea may be gained of how such industries sprang into existence and then, after a time of prosperity, declined. As far back as the end of the fifteenth century refugees had come to the coast of Kent from Lisle, Waterloo, Turcoing, and other places in the low countries. These men were skilled in weaving and carried on their trade in the new land in which they found themselves. In this they were not molested, although it was ordered that they should not weave any of the cloths produced by native workmen. In the sixteenth century these foreign weavers appear to have settled in Canterbury, and to have there obtained certain privileges from the city authorities. A house of theirs may still be seen in the present Unitarian Chapel in the Friars. At the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes many Huguenot silk-weavers settled in Canterbury, and carried on their trade with success. So that in the seventeenth century both cloth-making and the weaving of silk would seem to have been in a very flourishing condition in the city. At the end of this century matters were at their most prosperous pitch, but a subsequent decline set in. Foreign importations harmed the silk trade, and the demand for cloth seems to have declined, so that in the middle of the eighteenth century things were already in a bad way, and by 1786 only twenty looms were left in the city. At the end of the century this number had been reduced by one-half. Early in the nineteenth century the trade seems to have ceased altogether. A little while ago, in 1896, a revival of the Canterbury weaving was set about and the trade is again established, but it should be remembered that a lapse of several generations exists between the old industry and the new.

It is not suggested that this example of Canterbury can be held to typify the history of the wool-weaving in many parts of England. In each district there would be particular vicissitudes through which the weavers went; yet it is not improbable that the cloth-makers in many parts of England passed through some such decline and again came to prosperity. Much cloth, for instance, still comes from the West of England; Bradford-on-Avon is to-day engaged in the trade that made it prosperous some centuries ago, but it

would be a matter requiring some temerity to insist that the present industry of any cloth-making town has had an uninterrupted existence. When old methods were done away with to make way for modern capitalist enterprise, there must have come a very serious break in the continuity of the old industry, so that the period of depression which immediately preceded the advent of factories may in many cases have led to the virtual cessation of the trade, and in some, as at Canterbury, to its actual decease.

Four systems are traced in the development of the weaving industry; three of which have passed leaving little remains behind them, the fourth being that in use to-day. They are: the family system, the guild system, the domestic system, and the factory system. In the first the family worked for the family; in the second small masters employed apprentices and journeymen to make the cloth, and sold it themselves when made; in the third small masters carried on their business as before, but sold the finished cloth to merchants; the last may be seen and needs no explaining. The guild system gave way to the domestic system about the middle of the sixteenth century, and the domestic system to factories in the middle of the eighteenth. It is not necessary to repeat that such a system as the "domestic" will leave little trace behind it when it is gone. Numerous small makers turned out their cloth in many parts of England, and their business, when for some reason it decayed, soon ceased to be, and left no record of its existence. Therefore the only trace that may be found of such things is in local industries that are reputed old. And that some guide—though it is not a very sure one—may be had of where men wove certain cloths in a past age, Fuller's table is here quoted. The date at which the list was published is 1655.

"East. Norfolk—Norwich Fustians.
Suffolk—Sudbury Bayes.
Essex—Colchester Bayes and Serges.
Kent—Kentish Broad-cloths.

West. Devonshire Kirses.
Gloucestershire } Cloth.
Worcestershire }
Wales—Welsh Friezes.

The Clothiers' Guildhall, Lavenham

Kersey, Suffolk. *Face page* 306

North. Westmoreland—Kendal Cloth.
Lancashire—Manchester Cotton.
Yorkshire—Halifax Cloths.
South. Somersetshire—Taunton Serges.
Hampshire, Berkshire, Sussex } Cloth."

And added as a note:

"Mid-England—Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Cambridge—having most of wool, have least of clothing (i.e. cloth-manufacture) therein."

There are certain houses to be seen to-day in different parts of England which speak of the old industry. At Lavenham in Suffolk is a pathetically battered but still picturesque building, the hall of the Guild of Corpus Christi, which was instituted by John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford. Several quaint cottages at Lavenham and not far off at Long Melford are old, and in some of them still the cottagers work on old-fashioned looms in the production of horsehair cloth and cocoanut-fibre matting. The churches bear testimony to the great days of weaving in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lavenham church was rebuilt by another of the Earls of Oxford together with one Spring, a rich clothier who was fond of seeing his coat of arms carved on the stones. Long Melford church dates from 1470–1500, but the tower is new.[1] A little further away Lindsey and Kersey, and in Norfolk Worstead, recall by name alone the stuffs once manufactured there. At Exeter by the *Statute of Merchants* there was a mayor of the Staple distinct from the mayor of the borough, with a clerk of the Staple and a special seal which is preserved. About 1490 was founded a Society of Weavers, Tuckers,[2] and Shearmen; only freemen of the City could belong and after seven years' apprenticeship. They obtained about 1600 a disused chapel, turned it into a two-storied building and panelled it with oak, and there is still a corpora-

[1] We can go further back for the foundation of parish churches in their native villages by rich merchants. Wymington church in North Beds was rebuilt entirely by a successful Calais merchant in the fourteenth century. The work here has a strong Flemish flavour as is but natural.

[2] Same as Fullers; they thickened the cloth.

tion which administers charities in this Tuckers' Hall. At Newbury stands the old Cloth Hall, a half-timbered house. Here under Henry VIII lived John Smallwood or Winchcombe, popularly known as Jack of Newbury, a master clothmaker, who once sent a hundred workmen to join the King's army. He rebuilt the parish church where his initials can be seen carved, and an inn preserves his name. Another Newbury manufacturer built in 1581 Shaw House, around which raged in 1644 the second battle fought by Charles against Essex and Cromwell. Thomas White, son of a Reading clothier, became a London cloth-merchant, rose to be Lord Mayor under Queen Mary, and founded St. John's College at Oxford which still has its connection with Merchant Taylors'. The amphitheatre of hills ringing in Bradford-on-Avon is occupied by Flemish houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, decorated with large windows and gables in Flemish fashion and rising in ranks above each other; the weavers here were fugitives from the Netherlands for conscience' sake, like those at Canterbury. Part of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral was set apart for the services of Huguenots and other Protestant refugees as their "temple"; the earliest record is dated 1576. Yet such memorials of the old weavers are isolated, just a few survivals here and there.

In very early times men gathered about the burial-place of some departed warrior there to honour the dead with funeral games. And since such gatherings were not infrequent, and were besides the only certain assembling together of men for other than warlike purposes, the custom grew up to trade on such occasions. Herein is the origin of the fair, the chief trading centre of the Middle Ages. Thus the fair at Glasgow, and later the town itself, may be shown to owe their origin to the fact that the one was held and the other was built on the site of St. Ninian's tomb; for when Christianity had displaced other religions in this land, shrines and not the graves of warriors were the centres about which men gathered. So also St. Andrew's was in very remote times the scene of a not unimportant fair, and as early as the twelfth century a ferry crossed the Forth to take men to this mart.

Domesday Book makes small mention of fairs, though it is not to be inferred from that that few existed. It is far more probable that the majority were in the King's control, so

that the dues that they might pay would not need to be set down. The *Hundred Rolls* on the other hand make much mention of such markets, so, it may be assumed, that not only had such gatherings become more numerous but that many which had before been under royal control were now given to private individuals.

These fairs were the chief, indeed the only, general centres for the exchange of goods. Alien merchants would attend them with their wares, and Englishmen with different goods from different parts of England would gather at them. At one of these markets men would buy the luxuries, or goods not made in the district from which they came, which were to last them for six months or a year to come. We, living in an age when goods from all parts of the world may be bought in every village shop, may well too lightly estimate these occasions which, in an era when there were no shops nor shop-keepers as we know them, gave men their only chance to buy that which was not of purely local manufacture.

The regulations which ruled the fairs were very strict. The ground on which the market was to be held would be somewhat apart from the town—at Winchester it was on a common without the walls of the city, and at Stourbridge the site is to the south-east of the town of Cambridge. The place set apart for the fair was staked round, and within the palisade the ground was covered with wooden booths. During the time of the fair all trading was prohibited in the neighbouring place—at Winchester within a seven-league circuit—and buying or selling was not to commence before a certain hour in the morning and not to continue after a fixed hour at night. Throughout the fair-time the government of the whole district influenced by the fair—at Winchester this was the seven-league circuit—was ruled by a court appointed by him who owned the rights of market: the King or some local magnate to whom he had granted the fair. In such a fashion, it will be seen, every effort was made to increase the importance and the prosperity of these occasional markets.

Many of the old fairs have altogether disappeared, all are sadly fallen from their former state; yet many do still exist, and in certain yearly village revels centring in a round-about and a sweet-stall may be seen the tottering old-age of markets famed throughout Europe.

Two chief fairs were held in England, the one of great importance in this country, the other very vital to the trade of Europe. They were at Winchester and Stourbridge, near Cambridge. Winchester Fair appears established in the reign of William II, though its origin was probably earlier. In Henry I's time the fair was fixed at sixteen days—a very long period—from 31st August to 15th of September. It was ruled by the bishop, and seems to have decayed during the fifteenth century. At Cambridge there were held four fairs: Midsummer Fair, which lasted four days from the feast of St. John the Baptist, and was in the hands of the Prior of Barnwell; Garlic Fair, beginning at the feast of the Assumption, ruled by the Prioress of St. Rhadegund, which lasted two days, and the remnants of which are hardly dead; the Burgesses' Fair, held during the Rogation Days; and the great fair of Stourbridge. This last, by far the most important of the four, was the chief fair of England, and being on the river and near to great high roads, was accessible both from the sea and from inland. The Master of the Lepers Hospital ruled the market, and trade began yearly on Holy Cross Day. In the eighteenth century the fair was still of importance, and at the present its shadow may still be seen in a few mean stalls.

At Stamford a great fair was held, and Chester had its occasional market as early as the reign of Henry II. The town of Yarmouth grew up upon the site of the Herring Fair, and the mart at St. Ives sprang into existence with the discovery of the relics in 1002.

But it is before the fifteenth century that the great days of the fairs were. At the end of the fourteenth century complaints were made that fairs declined—the burgesses of Cambridge urged, in 1391, that the condition of the roads prevented men from coming to the market, and such a complaint does not seem rare. At Boston the fair of St. Botolph flourished in 1327, but had by 1416 entirely disappeared for many years. In the fifteenth century many such markets were created—that of St. James at Bristol was complained of, since it interfered with the old fairs at Bath and Winchester—but the day of such things would seem somewhat past. A greater number of small fairs was good for the sale of local produce, but the alien merchants no longer attended them, and they

sank in importance. The Crown, in 1394, seems to have looked with suspicion on the great gatherings which these markets occasioned, and stricter regulations came into force to govern them. Yet in spite of the depression many continued to exist, and have, indeed, lasted to the present day. Stourbridge was still vigorous in the seventeenth century. May Fair, the site of which is now the residence of fashion, and St. Bartholomew's Fair, were in the same century much restricted on account of the disorders to which they gave rise. With the fifteenth century, however, the heyday of such trading gatherings was passed. It should be noticed that when the fairs declined there was no immediate growth in the towns in their vicinity; their great importance is well shown in that, on their demise, their trade passed from the provinces to London.

It was, throughout the Middle Ages, consistently the policy of English statesmen to introduce into this country alien workmen and new industries, though—and in that circumstance the politicians of yesterday would seem wiser than their successors of to-day—always with the idea of profit to their country. Thus foreign merchants were admitted into England that the trade might be improved; but their actions were restricted, and their business might not be other than wholesale, that the retail salesmen of the country might not suffer by their presence. So, also, when alien craftsmen were welcomed to the country, it was provided that they should teach their trade to natives, and much care was taken that they should not make English workmen the poorer by a greater competition. From soon after the Norman Conquest the Steelyard, the house of German merchants, was established in London, and had offshoots at Boston and Lynn. The influence of foreign weavers has already been noticed, and their beneficial influence on the wool trade of the country can scarcely be denied. Although many trades have migrated from their original sites, so that where they were no trace of them may now be found; there are on the other hand several industries still flourishing where they were in the first case planted, and these not uncommonly such as were introduced to this country by foreign workmen. It is perhaps due to the immigration of foreign weavers that Manchester owes its cotton spinning. Early in the

seventeenth century the cotton spinning, along with other things, declined at Antwerp. Many of the spinners came, there is strong reason to believe, to England, and, since the rise of Manchester may be traced from this time, there is at least a good case for the belief that this rise is due to the immigration of the men of Antwerp. At Birmingham the same results may be seen; the glass and cutlery manufacture in the district may be said to have had its origin in the settlement of foreign artisans.

The Huguenot refugees at all times found a comfortable home in this country, and since they were commonly men skilled in some trade, and that as often as not a trade not at all, or, at least, but little known in England, they were encouraged to settle here. At the end of the seventeenth century, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they came over very readily, so that it would appear that as many as 80,000 came into the kingdom. Many passed through the country to settle in Ireland, or to journey to America, but a great number stopped in England, settling to the trades that they had followed in France, and leaving as a legacy behind them both their skill in certain crafts and the names which they bore. It is a thing very far from uncommon to find French names in English villages, and if there be many of them in one district, some industry brought from France will likely survive in the neighbourhood. In parts of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire a great deal of lace-making is done in the cottages. It is to the settlement of Huguenot workers at Honiton that this industry owes its birth. In the streets about Spitalfields there remain many French names, and it was here that early in the eighteenth century the silk-workers had their head-quarters, and successfully carried on the industry which they were teaching to Englishmen. At the same time Frenchmen of various trades settled in Soho and about Long Acre, and there their countrymen have continued to live, so that to-day there are many streets of the neighbourhood where French faces are easier to come upon than those of English origin.

The policy pursued in England was clear and attended by a considerable success: to secure skilled workmen from other countries, to give them privileges to carry on their work in comfort, to live peaceably with their families, and

to teach their trade to Englishmen. And as a proof of this endeavour, and of its results, there remain, up and down the country, several districts whose prosperity was not born of native skill, and, if the matter were carefully inquired into, no inconsiderable number of instances of foreign names survive to show when a family not English established themselves in some quiet village, and there, if they did no more, at least brought some understanding to the natives of a life that was not local. The village churchyard and register would give the names. A part of Long Melford is to-day still called "Little Holland."

Of the old guilds that once prospered in England there is now no survival left. Yet since the Livery Companies, which to-day do still exist in prosperity, are in some sort their descendants, it should not be altogether out of place to mention something of the older organisation, showing how it changed and was superseded.

Throughout the Middle Ages there was a very careful protection of all trading; and this protection was designed to shelter merchants, not only from the undue competition of foreigners, but from the tricks and sharp practice of their fellows. There was a very strong idea, clearly expressed in the regulations of the day, that trading should not be free and carried out as far as possible to suit the will of each merchant, but that it should be regulated upon a plan that the majority should consider fair. And to the end that the regulations might be the better carried out, men formed themselves into Guilds Merchant. It does not appear that the guild merchant in England exercised any settled jurisdiction over its members, it would rather seem a body to which matters of commercial etiquette might be referred, and which would ensure that no man who was not resident in the town or a member of the guild, should trade there. These corporations were primarily designed to facilitate collective trading, and by the use of common capital to make possible purchases that could not have been achieved by any individual member. Thus the guild would purchase a cargo, and the members in the order of their seniority would have the chance of buying of it what they would.

But the guild merchant, which was not confined to any single trade, was found to be somewhat cumbersome; so

that craft guilds, corporations of a single trade such as the Weavers' or the Bakers' Guild, began to grow up side by side with the old institutions. And these newer bodies superseded the old, which with the strengthening of the municipality would become of less use, and which gradually decayed. The craft guilds, which by the end of the thirteenth century had become common, were not, however, corporations of merchants, but of a trade. Their members were craftsmen as well as salesmen, and were as much concerned with the manufacture of their goods as with the sale of them. There is still a Bakers' Guild at Coventry which would seem an institution of a very respectable antiquity, but it has neither buildings nor any degree of corporate life, and it would seem doubtful whether in this matter it has changed much with years. These guilds, although undoubtedly at one time prosperous and not without considerable influence, have left little trace of their existence, and may only very rarely be found, as at Coventry, living as survivals with all their real work done.

As early as the reign of Edward III companies of dealers were being formed with the purpose of facilitating their sales. These companies would seem to have been composed of the richer burgesses, and very early in their existence built themselves important halls, and exhibited other evidences of prosperity. The Vintners' Company was formed in 1364, and sought the exclusive right of retail selling in their business. The Drapers' Company was formed in 1365. But the two oldest of the great Livery Companies would seem the Grocers', 1345, and the Mercers', 1347. Both these companies must, at first, have busied themselves with a very wide trade ; so that when commerce became more specialised, the Apothecaries' and the Turkey Companies grew out of the Grocers', and the Haberdashers' and the Merchant Adventurers' out of the Mercers'. Such companies have had a continuous existence from the date of their founding until the present day ; their halls in London may be seen by any one interested in their history ; their banquets still bespeak a great measure of prosperity ; and, as evidence of the state and wealth which they would always seem to have commanded, it is stated that even in the fourteenth century the ranks of the nobility were not infrequently recruited from their numbers. Of this recruiting William de la Pole offers an example.

To finish this chapter upon the Industrial History of England an attempt will be made to trace the main incidents in the existence of one manufacture, to show how the district in which it was carried on became changed, and to give some reason why that change came about. The instance dealt with cannot be held as a parallel to any other in any matter of detail, yet in broad outline the chances of this one industry may be seen as not altogether dissimilar to others. Throughout the country the site of any particular employment is often far removed from where it used to be, and it is only occasionally that any manufacture may be found to have retained its old quarters through several centuries. The employment of steam power has caused a great migration of industry, so that it may be said that, in general, the most important manufactures are to be found in close proximity to coal-beds. And though this generalisation should prove false in many particular instances, it is true in the main, so that an instance that shall show this thing in very clear operation should not be out of place in a summary of certain aspects of industrial England.

Iron, it would seem, was smelted in the Forest of Dean in Roman times; and at Rhyddlan in Flintshire, in Gloucestershire, in parts of South Wales, and in Sussex, it was worked in quite early times. The fuel that was used in smelting was wood, and when iron was needed in any considerable quantities the destruction of forest land which would be necessary for the smelting was very considerable indeed. It was—the point needs no insistence—part of the obvious policy of England that her marine should be in a prosperous condition, so that very much wood was needed for the building of ships. It therefore became a question of grave importance that forests should not be too lavishly used for fuel when they were so vitally needed for the creation of vessels. In view of this an Act was passed in 1558 that there should be no smelting of iron within fourteen miles of the coast. This Act was apparently enforced with some strictness, so that the Sussex iron-working suffered an immediate decline, and between 1659 and 1776 seems to have ceased altogether, the industry being transferred to the Forest of Dean. Other iron works near the coast suffered in the same manner, and the increasing demand for timber for maritime purposes

very much added to the cost of smelting. In 1760 the Carron iron works were founded and the Roebuck blast furnace was erected ; and this, though quickly superseded by furnaces of an improved type, was of very great importance to the iron industry, since it made the use of coal for smelting altogether practicable. In consequence of this, the iron industry was established, as far as possible, in the vicinity of a coal-bed ; the South Wales field at Cyfartha and at Dowlais again became prosperous, the Black Country became a great iron centre, and the Sussex iron works ceased to be. It should also be noticed that about this time pig iron was no longer imported from Sweden, and in the matter of this industry England became largely self-sufficing.

CHAPTER IX

DOMESTIC ENGLAND

After the arrival of the Normans the castle at first absorbs all our attention, and the house is unimportant. The lord lived in whichever fortress he happened to be visiting, yet he had usually one place, the head of his barony, where he spent most of his time, for it is at the chief centres that we find the more elaborate methods to render a grim building inhabitable. We cannot do better than take Castle Hedingham, dated about 1130 and built on the same lines as Rochester. A keep had no courtyard. All the space between its four walls was filled in, and above the basement there were four floors. The basement had no door leading into it and was a mere undercroft, used for stores and, if one chooses to imagine it, for dungeons; but barons did not go about deliberately to seize their own villeins or their neighbours' to imprison and torture them. The first was the entrance floor, with a door high up and reached by a stair which could be removed in case of siege; here doubtless lived the retainers who may be called the garrison. The great hall occupied all the second and third floors, and had two tiers of windows. The fourth floor was next below the battlemented and turreted roof. The great staircase was in an angle of the keep; two small windows were in each side wall of each floor, except that on the third floor the upper part of the hall was lighted by pairs of double windows forming a sort of triforium; in the thickness of the walls were small chambers, but on the third floor was a continuous gallery. Impregnable, gloomy, draughty, are the adjectives applied to such a keep. Yet "the main rooms were spacious, the smaller rooms were considerable in number, the gallery must have afforded a certain amount of quasi-privacy."[1]

[1] Mr. J. A. Gotch, *The Growth of the English House*, chap. ii.

The next step was to desert the keep and to build a hall and offices in the enclosure of the castle; where a simple Norman castle was afterwards enlarged or altered on the Edwardian plan it is not uncommon to find two halls, the older in the keep, the other in inner or outer court; in new Edwardian castles, Beaumaris for example, the hall is behind the main fortifications. Then comes a period of building semi-fortified or weakly fortified dwellings, halls with towers attached, then mansions which have a pretence of looking like fortresses, finally mansions for residence only.

In towns stone houses began to be built in the later Norman period. We are told that rich Jews first built and lived in them, coming to England as money-lenders and providing those sums without which the great cathedrals and abbeys could not have come into existence. Christians might not practise usury, but they might borrow and hate, or persecute, if they could or dared, the lenders. The masons were free and required good pay, which indeed they deserved; in medieval accounts they are found drawing double the wages of ordinary hod-men or carriers, and the foremen four times, i.e. 3d., 6d., and 12d. per diem respectively in the thirteenth century. Thus the Jews were necessary. A Jew's house is to be seen at Lincoln, a basement or undercroft and a large room above; in a castle a basement was wanted, because it was the only part that an enemy could reach with a battering ram and no sensible man would weaken the wall by piercing it for air and light; in a house an undercroft kept the upstairs living room away from the damp and could be used as a warehouse. In Southampton are two Norman houses, wrongly called Canute's and King John's, though of course a king may have slept at the latter *en passant*. Large buildings, such as Westminster Hall of William II's reign, were built on pillars forming nave and aisles.[1]

The hall was originally the house, about which as necessity arose other rooms were built. And these other rooms became more numerous as men paid more attention to finding comfort in their homes, until, at the present time, the hall is altogether fallen from its old estate and is become an entrance chamber or a lounge—the word so applied has a considerable popularity at the moment—even, in the smaller

[1] Mr. T. D. Atkinson, *English Architecture*, chap. vi.

villa, no more than a cramped passage. To the single chamber of the primitive dwelling was added a smaller room opening from it; and here the owner and his wife might retire to talk more privately with their friends if they so wished, and here they slept. This *solar* or *parlour*, which is the direct ancestor of the drawing-room, was neither very spacious nor yet so much removed from the hall as to afford any great degree of quiet; yet a building which contained two rooms would seem very far advanced from the single common shelter. And, indeed, it appears that this advance, which to our thinking would seem a step that should properly be quickly followed by another, served men for a lengthy period, and that until the thirteenth century no serious attempt was made in England to construct a dwelling on any more commodious plan. If the household was a large and important body, the hall would be of a size to accommodate all who lived there and yet to have room in it where the passing stranger might lie; the solar would be of more spacious proportions, and the house might well contain other chambers, a cellar, a place where food might be stored, and possibly another parlour where the family and any guests of consequence might sleep, but the hall was still the centre of the building, in which all meals were served to the master and to his servants, and where all the dependants, both men and women, would lie at night.

Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk, the earliest example that we may now see of the English house built entirely of brick, is a good example of the small manor of the thirteenth century. It was built in 1281 and was not probably at all original among its contemporaries. The house is built as an oblong with a square tower at one corner; there is a single room upon the ground floor vaulted with brick, above this there is another room of the same size having a timber roof; from a corner of the tower ascends a turret staircase; the chapel, which is on the top floor of the tower, opens into the upper chamber of the house. The windows of the house are mostly narrow lancets, but in some instances, as in the chapel, show good Early English tracery. The mouldings and vaultings are made in the same style. The roofs of the house and tower are flat, and are surrounded with brick battlements.

At Stokesay Castle in Shropshire there is another good example of a thirteenth-century dwelling. The hall, which

has an open timber roof, is placed between the other chambers of the house. At the north end there is a cellar with rooms above, communicating with the hall by a wooden staircase; to the south are small rooms upon the ground floor, and above is the solar having two small windows which look out into the hall. A passage led from the rooms beneath the solar to the keep. The style of the window-heads and mouldings at Stokesay Castle is Early English; and the roof of the hall, although without ornamentation, is designed for effect, and is in this respect successful. The castle was built by one Lawrence of Ludlow, a wealthy cloth-merchant. This circumstance should be noted, as it was the custom—the fact is mentioned in an earlier chapter—to recruit the nobility from such men. The timbered gateway is Elizabethan.

There is no exact similarity between these two houses, and yet they have a kinship which cannot be denied. In the one and in the other the hall is the most important feature, and the rooms communicating with it are few and of a very secondary importance; and this may be said of any house of the period. According to the taste and fortune of the master there would be several or few rooms beside the hall and solar, and the decoration of the house would change far more than the plan; so that from the Norman Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century three styles of architecture are distinguished, but the simple plan of the house is only very slightly improved. It is not until the fifteenth century that any marked improvement forces itself into the plans of English house-building, and not until the Tudors reigned in England that a larger comfort, a settled privacy, and a separate lodging for the master and the servant, were recognised as necessary.

As the changes came into fashion there was probably no little stir; men found the new demands effeminate, the servants called out against a system that would mark them more clearly as of a lower social grade, and those who looked with enthusiasm to a great benefit from the slow developments were probably named hot-headed and somewat removed from a nice respectability. Yet the changes came, and followed each other with a greater rapidity. As rooms were added and as the houses became of a more commodious character, the decoration altered, and that, it would seem,

Stokesay Castle; The gate-house to left is Elizabethan
Photo by S. Milne

The Hall of Penshurst Place, Kent; finished about 1350. Taken from Nash's Mansions

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with more ease than the plans. From the simplicity of Norman architecture, in which strength would appear as the cardinal virtue, there came a style, in its beginning of an almost equal plainness though more delicate, an affair of slender arches and long, narrow windows which we call Early English; and this, changing in its turn, became more ornate, stone was carved where before it had been plain, and windows were built in many lights with delicate tracery at the head. And so we have set up another distinction, and called Decorated the more highly ornamented style that grew out of the Early English.

These changes of style are to be seen in the houses of the past as in the churches; for until there came, with the Tudors, a very radical change in domestic building, both ecclesiastical and lay buildings had been ornamented in the same fashion. The manor-house of the fourteenth century was often very beautifully decorated, and the halls of many of them are seen to-day as chambers of a very considerable beauty. But, though there was no parsimony of ornament, and though there are few modern country houses into which so much good work has entered, it cannot be denied that in very noble buildings there must have been a singular discomfort.

The hall of the fourteenth century manor-house was built and decorated in very generous fashion; many examples of these great living-rooms are still left, and in the college halls of Cambridge and Oxford the old arrangement is commonly preserved. At Penshurst Place[1] in Kent there may still be seen the Gothic hall, which, if the drawing which Nash made of it is remembered, may be peopled with its old inhabitants. At the one end was the dais, where the lord and his family might dine, at the other the *screen*, a wooden partition running across the lower end of the hall forming a passage; in it were two doors leading to the kitchen quarters across the passage. Above the screen was the minstrels' gallery, seldom it would seem, however, accommodating

[1] Penshurst was originally Penchester. Stephen of Penchester was a man of considerable importance under Edward I, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Admiral of the Fleet in the Welsh wars of 1277 and 1282; yet he is entered in the marshal's register as doing feudal service in the retinue of the Earl of Norfolk, i.e. the marshal himself. Besides what he built at Penshurst he erected Allington Castle near Maidstone, and had a licence to fortify at Hever, though the work at Hever is declared to be of a later date.

players. Large windows upon either side were built to nearly the whole height of the wall, and the roof, open to the ridge, was constructed of timber well moulded. The fire burnt in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping as it might; the walls were hung with armour, and, it is likely, at the dais end with a covering of tapestry; the solar was reached from a door at the upper end of the hall, and there would be other rooms leading from the building in proportion to its size and importance. The floor would be covered with rushes, somewhat infrequently renewed, if we have correct information upon the point. In this hall the whole household would gather for meals, and, when the tables were cleared, amuse themselves with any casual occupation. The master of the house had his solar into which he might retire when the noise of the hall was not to his taste, and from which he might look out through a small window, to see that the conduct of his dependants was not too boisterous. And there were probably—certainly in the fourteenth century the fashion was established—rooms to which the ladies of the house might retire at night, and in which they worked, when the public life of the hall offended them. But for the majority of the establishment the great chamber was their only habitation; there they ate, and there they worked or amused themselves, when their duties did not call them elsewhere, and there they put down mattresses and slept upon the floor.

Such a description might be applied to any great house of the time; and though doubtless the men of that day prided themselves upon a comfort and a privacy far advanced from the domestic life of the century before, and though the fourteenth-century house was in fact a more comfortable dwelling than its predecessors, and did offer some degree of quiet to those who were of the owner's kin, yet a very large part of the day must, in winter, have been spent in a smoky atmosphere in a great room, where the disputes of serving-men and women, and the noise of a continual activity could in nowise be escaped.

The discomfort of smoke in the hall was easily escaped by the introduction of fireplaces, and much was done to make the kitchen more commodious, and to escape as far as possible the nuisance of the public preparation of food; but the medieval house was not built upon a plan that admitted the

development of private ease, and the hall still remained of such importance as to dwarf the other rooms.

But while the design had moved with a very singular slowness, the decoration and many features of building had advanced with a greater rapidity. The character of Perpendicular Gothic, which may be said to have become popular about the middle of the fourteenth century, would seem expressed in the enlargement of windows and the general broadening of the aspect of the building; so that roofs became less steeply pitched, parapets, which further increase the impression of a lesser height, are often added to the walls, and the larger windows are strengthened with heavier mullions and with transoms. Yet the fifteenth-century house was still Gothic; and though in its windows there are many characteristics that found development in the Tudor and Elizabethan period, the whole building had an individuality which was of the country, and which owed little to foreign influence.

The house at Great Chalfield in Wiltshire may be taken as a very typical example of the manor of that day. It was built at the end of the reign of Henry VI, and, since the state of the country was still not greatly peaceful, the house was surrounded by a moat and in some sort fortified. The plan of the house is very simple: the main entrance leads to the screens, the passage behind the hall screen, and having the butteries and kitchen quarters upon the other side. From the screens there are doors on the right, leading to the servants' department, and upon the left two doors lead into the hall. The hall itself was oblong, with the dais at the opposite end from the screen, and large windows upon either side. At either end of the dais was a bay window, and the fire-place was in the side wall, just below the dais in the body of the hall. Doors led out of the bay windows to the solar and other living rooms of the house. Great Chalfield is a very common type of the manor-house of the period, and does not exhibit any peculiarity other than the bay windows of the hall being a means of communication with other apartments, which use is not common.

There is another type of house very common towards the end of the fifteenth century, which, though of a different form to Great Chalfield, is beyond dispute born of the same

parents. In Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, which was built in 1482, and in old Haddon Hall, before the alterations that John Manners brought about, this type is well shown. The buildings are about a courtyard, the entrance gate being on the side opposite to the hall; and the difference between such houses and those built in a block would seem to be merely a matter of more accommodation. The side, the most of which is occupied by the hall, is much as the smaller house. The kitchens and butteries open from the screens; the hall itself is of the usual proportion and design, and the parlour and other living rooms would lead from behind the dais. Around the courtyard there would be other rooms, quarters in which guests of distinction might be lodged with their retinues, offices of the estate and servants' quarters. But these buildings would have no interior communication with the hall and the rooms about it; so that, although the house had grown larger, there was still no great comfort, nor any internal union in the building. Colleges at Cambridge and Oxford are, in their plan, probably very much as the late fifteenth-century manor-house. The kitchens, the hall, and the common-room are in communication, but the other rooms of the building are only to be got at by passing through separate doors, each leading into the open air.

It is, of course, quite impossible to convey any accurate description of the many houses of England by a general suggestion of the great fashions in building; and, while it would seem to be a just statement that most of the fifteenth-century houses were planned much on the lines of the example referred to, many will be found that seem to bear no relationship to the common type. Climate and locality, the materials to hand, and the fortune of the owner affect so vitally the nature of the house built, that no single fashion has prevailed to the exclusion of all others at any one time. Thus the half-timbered manor, which is common in the western Midlands and elsewhere in the country, will not be built upon the same lines as the brick house of the eastern counties, and, in those districts where stone is easily obtainable, new differences will be noticed due to the changed material. This individuality that materials give to buildings is very noticeable in the round towers of certain East Anglian churches. The impossibility of building a square tower that shall be of

any solidity, where the only material available is flint, requires no demonstration. It must therefore be supposed that, when these churches were constructed, those who built them could not afford to get the ashlar, which would have to come from some distance, for the corners, and so had to content themselves with the erection of circular towers. Although it is not perhaps common to find that the stuff of which a house is built should lead to such a striking peculiarity in its design, it is quite usual to find that the site, the cost, and the material are responsible for many differences, and, more than the architect or the taste of the client, are perhaps responsible for the individual character of many houses. For such a reason, one may assume, the dwellings of the very rich, who can alter the site, disregard the cost, and procure what material they wish for, are more nearly of a kind, and, following the fashion of the moment, bear a very strong resemblance to others of the same date.

Despite the dangers of generalisation, certain characteristics may be set down as belonging to the fifteenth-century house. The hall still maintained its importance, and still stood as something of a passage between the kitchens and the private apartments; the sitting-rooms were not yet numerous or very comfortable; and staircases, passages, and other internal means of communication were given small attention. On one point the houses of this century would seem to be agreed. In the matter of decoration they bear a strong resemblance to each other, and the accepted ornament of the Perpendicular style is to be found in all.

During the next century English house-building was marked by very considerable changes; and, though the influence of Italian architecture is noticeable from the beginning, it would seem to have effect mainly in matters of detail, letting the plan of the house develop on the same lines that had been followed before. In the sixteenth century, very much more than in the fifteenth, it becomes difficult to assign a general plan to domestic building, so that only the broadest development may be held common; a greater comfort and convenience is arrived at, and the importance of the hall rapidly diminishes.

Henry VIII would seem to have been much taken with the Italian fashion of building as it came to him through France;

and since he was by no means content that England should be held behindhand in the matter of building, he procured alien workmen who might spread their ideas among native designers. Torrigiano came to this country at the summons of Henry, and it is not probable that he was alone. The work that he and his fellow-countrymen carried out is not well known, and beyond certain well-known examples, such in Torrigiano's case as the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster, it is hard to name their workmanship, although it may be supposed that they were not idle. But the influence of these workmen was in details and not in plans, and it is not until the next century that Italian ideas do very much to alter the construction of English houses. However, throughout the country the fashion spread for Italian ornament, and in nearly all sixteenth-century buildings the new decoration may, to some extent, be found. So, in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, which in some sort marked the finish of the Gothic style, there is to be found the purest Italian ornament. The screen, amongst so much that is wholly English, shows no trace of native influence, but is in its design altogether foreign. Yet as the century passed decoration became more mixed. On the death of Henry VIII the new idea came to this country through Dutch workmen; and it was not until the time of Inigo Jones that pure Italian designs were again popular.

So that throughout the sixteenth century houses in England are much affected by foreign ornament; but the architecture is English, and is developing the old idea, and when the classical fashion in building became prevalent, it was not so much due to a steady influence that had prepared its coming for a hundred years, as to the fact that the old design, being so much changed, had lost most of its character and point, and was ready to give way to an untried idea. Medieval houses had been built around their halls, and men in the century of the Tudors and of Elizabeth preserved the same idea, seeking only to make it more convenient; so, when the hall was become unimportant, when the main idea had been lost in improvements, the old plan was seen to be passed, and new ideas were welcomed. An interest in classical literature and art being then common in the country, men not unnaturally followed their interests to find the new ideas, and so the rigid

Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire; from Nash

Moreton Hall

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ideas of Palladio succeeded to the latitude of the developed Gothic.

At Compton Winyates in Warwickshire, which house was built about 1520, and at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk, which is a few years younger, there is no great change from the late fifteenth-century building; Italian ornament has very little place in either house, yet the wish for greater comfort may be seen in both. The one house and the other is built about a court, with no idea of symmetry in the planning, and with the hall, kitchens, and withdrawing-rooms occupying the same side; but at Compton Winyates the staircase giving access to the upper floor is already an important feature, the communication between the rooms is improved so that a man may pass round the court without setting foot outside, and at Hengrave Hall there is a covered corridor upon the inside of the courtyard which gives access to the different parts of the house by other means than doors opening from room to room.

There is in Surrey, at Sutton, a house built in 1523–5, which is upon a very similar plan yet marks another feature of Tudor building. Windows at Sutton Place were made to balance each other, and there was an attempt, very clearly made, to introduce some symmetry into the appearance of the building. Throughout the house Italian ornament was very largely used and terra-cotta decoration is common.

The ornament does nothing to affect the structure, nor does it appear that any attempt was made to bring the general design of the house into harmony with some of the details; the fashion was for a certain form of decoration, which was therefore adopted by those who would follow the times. At Hengrave Hall, which is a house very much English in character, the entrance gate shows Italian and Perpendicular ornament much mixed; and Moreton Old Hall in Cheshire, a building of timber in the Perpendicular style, has corbels and brackets of Italian design. It should be remembered that the finest specimens of timber work in this country are to be seen in the west. Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and the districts about them have many fine houses of this material. At Tewkesbury the "Wheat Sheaf" is a good plain example of timber work, and "The Feathers" at Ludlow shows very well the beauty of such building.

A distinction has been made which is not altogether arbitrary

between Tudor and Elizabethan architecture. This subdivision of the building of the Tudor reigns should be remembered, the difference may be recognised in a greater elaboration in the later style. Thus in that which is called Tudor the windows are commonly small, low, and without transoms, while in Elizabethan building these features gain a very considerable attention, two transoms commonly appear, and the whole window has increased in size. Other changes which will be shown below emphasise this difference.

Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire, built during the years 1570, 1575, is a good example of the old plan into which has been introduced many of the new ideas. The house is built round a courtyard, but a very noticeable effort is made to force symmetry in the design, and the main entrance is directly opposite to the doorway of the screens. There are several staircases, which are not hidden in corners, but built and designed in such fashion as to be features of the house; much attention is paid to the long gallery, a thing common among Elizabethan houses; and there is a winter parlour near the kitchen, which probably added much to the comfort of those who lived in the house. The ornamentation throughout the building shows very noticeably the influence of the Italian fashion.

The winter parlour at Kirby, in which the family not improbably dined, is by no means a rare feature in the period; it would, indeed, seem to have become the custom of the time that the more important retainers took their meals in the hall while the master and his friends dined in some more private apartment. In a letter to Sir Thomas Kyston, which bears the date 1540, a certain Mr. Marlivale complains that he had been put, on one occasion, to dine with the steward in the hall instead of being received in the dining-room with the family; and this, from the tone of his letter, Mr. Marlivale apparently considered a slight of no small importance.[1] It is therefore to be concluded that the hall was, early in the sixteenth century, fallen from its former importance, and that it had already been abandoned by the family except on great occasions.

Along with other changes the fashion came about in the sixteenth century to build houses on other plans than that

[1] Gotch, p. 239.

of the courtyard, of which the commonest were designed after the fashion of the letters H and E. It should be noticed that of these two forms of house the H plan is the commoner, and that no compliment to the Queen had probably entered men's minds when they built their dwellings in the form of an E. A very good example of a manor-house built upon the plan of the letter H is to be seen in Montacute House in Somerset. The building was set up in 1580, and would appear a useful example of certain of the changes that had come about: large *mullioned windows* cover a very large amount of the area of the walls; the house exhibits an exact symmetry of design, gables and bays balancing each other in a very formal fashion; and the new fashion of ornamentation is very clearly shown. The *long gallery*, which would appear a necessary apartment in all houses of this date, is upon the top floor and runs the whole length of the building; and the hall, though still arranged after the old fashion, is not open to the roof, but rises no more than the one story.

There are about the country certain houses, of which Barlborough Hall in Derbyshire is an example, built upon the plan of a solid block with a small court in the middle. In such houses it was not uncommon to have the principal rooms upon the first floor, with an external staircase leading to the main entrance, and the kitchens and servants' quarters in the basement. But the design does not seem to have had any considerable vogue, and the small central court was probably found very dark and stagnant.

And so the domestic building changed in the search for greater comfort and convenience until at the end of Elizabeth's reign but little kinship to the dwelling of the previous century can be found, either in decoration or arrangement. Yet, and the circumstance should certainly be noted, the general shape of those houses in which the *hall* first becomes no more than an *entrance* is much that of the early manor in which there was one principal chamber with few rooms opening from it. Aston Hall in Warwickshire is built upon this plan. The house dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is in the form of a central oblong block with wings at either end; in the one wing are the kitchens, and in the other the private rooms of the family. But the main door opens directly into the hall, in which there is no dais, no screen,

and no bay; the thing is become no longer a living room, but serves as an imposing vestibule. When that which was essential in the medieval house had been so far superseded, there remained no reason why new plans of an entire originality should not be tried; and so in this country were introduced the designs of Palladio, the Italian architect who popularised those ideas which found expression in English building in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and which are described in a later part of this chapter.

Although the diversity of building was such that there are not probably two sixteenth-century houses of any size which are exactly similar in form, there was a very strong relationship in the character of detail, and many features wholly peculiar to the time occur in most of the houses built during these years.

Whether the building were built about a court, or whether it were shaped in the form of an H or E, there was commonly in the front an open yard or basement surrounded by a low wall or balustrade. In this *base-court* and on the side opposite to the main doorway of the house was the principal *gate*, which would vary much with the size and importance of the main building. At the gateways of the larger houses would be built a lodging for the porter and his family, so that it is not uncommon to find well-built and highly ornamented *gate-houses* giving entrance to old base-courts of many Tudor and Elizabethan dwellings: of such there are good examples at Stanway in Gloucestershire and at Westwood in Worcestershire, where it may be seen that the lodge was fashioned in the same manner and with the same care as the house. Where the owner was possessed of a more modest fortune, or where the main house was upon a smaller scale, there would be no attendant lodge, but the gate would stand alone, being as elaborate in design as circumstances might permit.

Upon another feature Elizabethan builders would appear to have spent much attention; the *porches* of such houses as they set up generally display very careful ornamentation, and have a very rich appearance although the rest of the structure may be of the plainest. At Doddington Hall in Lincolnshire the house is of brick very plainly built, yet the porch is of a very elaborate character, and is much influenced by classical design.

The Tudor window was commonly small and of not more than two or three lights, so that the change to the large window, with many *mullions* and *transoms*, of the Elizabethan style is very noticeable. These great windows, often filled with tinted glass and carrying the arms of the family emblazoned upon them, are perhaps the most striking feature of the style, and most certainly add much to the beauty of the rooms which they so effectually light. Bay windows would seem first to have been built in the hall, and then, being pleasant and convenient, to have found their way to other rooms, those on the upper story being corbelled out into an *oriel*. Such oriels may be found throughout the country in many of the houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though they are commoner early rather than late. Even in the Gothic manor-house of Great Chalfield, which is of the fifteenth century, two oriels of a very delicate design are to be seen, and such features would not be uncommon in houses of the time. But the late Tudor and Elizabethan builders were both strongly taken with the love of well-lit rooms and much impressed—the more strongly as time went on—with the importance of symmetry in their houses; so that the oriel was made to do service for more than one story, was indeed extended to the whole height of the building. Being thus an important feature of the house, altering its outline in no indecisive manner, the designer came to give a very marked attention to the bay, making it, in some sort, the chief character in his design. These bays were built upon many different plans: rectangular, semicircular, and octagonal. Such bays are very common, and may be seen throughout the country; at Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire there are several good examples.

At Montacute House in Somerset there is an extreme example of the prodigality of the Elizabethan architect in the matter of windows. The house was built in 1580, is of three floors, and is built upon the plan of a flattened H. The façade is very usual to the period, having projecting wings at either end and in the centre a porch which is carried up to the roof as bays for rooms upon the first and second floors. The building is singularly plain, showing a very marked absence of decoration, but the windows are so numerous and of such a size as to prevent the appearance of much un-

ornamented wall. Indeed, the house would convey the idea of a series of openings connected, almost insecurely, by narrow strips of stone. The windows themselves are of an extreme simplicity; rectangular, with three or five lights, a single transom upon the upper floor, and two upon the stories below. The line of the roof is broken by gables and a balustrade of simple design, so that the building exhibits no too rigid outline. It may be urged that the number of windows is too great—the criticism is often levelled against buildings of this fashion—but the comfort of the interior is very greatly increased by such a tendency, and at Montacute, and with it many other houses of a like style, the perforation of the walls is arranged with care, so that the rooms are well lighted and an effect of design is produced for those who see the house from the outside.

There is another external feature very clearly shown in most of the houses of the sixteenth century; it is the number and character of the *gables* that are to be seen. These gables are found in the simplest houses of the period as well as in the more pretentious dwellings, so that there is scarcely a nobleman's mansion or a cottage where they do not appear. In those houses built upon a more elaborate plan the gables are carefully designed and arranged producing much, and often very pleasing, effect. The gable wall in the buildings of stone or brick is usually built up to project above the roof, but where the house was of timber such an arrangement was impossible, and the roof coming beyond the gable is finished off with a verge-board often very elaborately carved. Most of the gables, even in the smaller cottages, were finished with a finial set at the apex of the coping and kneelers at the base; these finials and kneelers vary very much from a simple ball of stone or wood to a design very elaborately carried out. There are cottages of brick and stone throughout the Midlands and the south and east, and of timber work in the west, which show the simple gable very clearly. To name examples would be useless since the number is so great that many may be found in almost any district. In the greater houses the design became more powerful, the gables were often curved into a variety of shapes and carved in more or less rich fashion. An example of this may be seen at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, which was built in 1588; at Kirby House,

built in 1570, this being of a simpler design; and in many other mansions throughout England.

There was usually in the larger Elizabethan houses a *parapet* connecting the gables; this parapet varied considerably in design, its line being relieved by the placing along it, at certain intervals, of finials or heraldic animals. There are good examples of the plain solid parapet at Kirby Hall, in the courtyard, and at Doddington; of the parapet formed in a series of arches, at Exton Old Hall in Rutland; of the pierced design, at Audley End in Essex; and—a very common fashion indeed—of a series of pilasters, at Ruston in Northamptonshire.

It became the fashion, early in the sixteenth century, to give much prominence to *chimneys*, to ornament them in such manner that they added in no small degree to the beauty of the house. They were built of brick or stone in many different patterns, or, as is very common in certain of the more elaborate houses and in certain parts of England, of brick moulded into designs. There are to be found good examples of the moulded brick chimney at Droitwich in Worcestershire, at Compton Winyates and at Hengrave Hall. The chimney-stack in the form of columns is not rare and is seen at Montacute House, at Wollaton, and—very well exemplified—at Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire. The many different designs of stone or brick, not moulded, cannot be mentioned here but may be noticed in the smaller houses of the period as well as the greater.

In all matters of finish the Elizabethan builder would seem to have exercised a considerable care. He was intent to set up his work with no single point rough or without ornament where ornament might justly come. Therefore in dealing with rain-water pipes he saw himself clearly engaged upon something where decoration might be not unjustly used, and where, moreover, such decoration would show to very good effect. So in most houses of the sixteenth century the rain-water heads are noticeable, and being noticed are commonly admired. It was not uncommon for the date, or arms of the owner, to be carved on the head, so that in these drain-pipes there is often valuable information of the history of the house. Among numberless examples it is hard to name individuals; these details of Elizabethan building are

not hard to find and may be studied in almost any sixteenth-century house.

It would, perhaps, be impossible to find a more complete example of the many features of Elizabethan architecture than that of Blickling Hall, Norfolk, cited by Mr. J. A. Gotch in his book on *Early Renaissance Architecture in England.* The house was built in 1619–20, and is of brick faced with stone; the chimneys are well designed and plainly set up with a view not only to use but to effect; the gables are curved and are surmounted by finials carved in the form of figures; many of the windows stand from the wall in shallow bays rising to the second story with parapets of pierced stone at the top, the windows themselves, mullioned and transomed, are large and numerous, though not in such a manner as to produce an effect of excess. The rain-water pipes have well-carved heads. The front doorway is of rich design, the ornamentation being carried to the full height of the bay; above the arch of the door the owner's arms are carved in stone, and on either side of the entrance there are columns. There is throughout the building a suggestion of classical influence in detail that cannot be denied—a cornice runs round the house above the ground floor, the treatment of the porch owes not much to Gothic ideas—but the new ideas have little influence on the main structure, and are not used for other ends than the giving of a greater richness and beauty to the old style. Blickling Hall, though not the most perfect or yet the most noble specimen of its kind, is yet without question of much beauty and a very considerable interest. It shows very clearly many of the changes that had come about, exhibits many new fashions, and is yet an English building, grown from others of its own nationality and different to anything in other lands. It borrows where it may find beauty, but in so doing loses nothing of its character and of its style.

There is one circumstance that should account in no small degree for the greater comfort and luxury of Elizabethan houses throughout the country; this is the matter of royal progresses. It was the custom of the Queen and later of James I to journey much about the country, and to expect and to receive a very lavish hospitality in the houses of their subjects. Under such circumstances it was not fitting, nor politic if the subject sought the royal favour, that the great

gentlemen of the land should lack suitable appointments and splendour in their homes. So the dwellings of the nobles became more richly designed and so planned as to enable great state to be kept in them after a fitting fashion. With such an example in the greater houses it was inevitable that the lesser nobility should seek a copy, and plan their houses—when they could afford new ones, which they were much set on doing—on such a scale as might be, not with the hope, or perhaps the wish, to entertain royalty, but with the idea of displaying a more luxurious hospitality than had been customary before.

Three methods of decorating the walls are common in the sixteenth century, though in different degrees; painting, tapestry, and panelling were used to cover the stone. To paint the walls was, however, rare and probably confined to the very rich; there is an account of the manner in which certain rooms at Theobalds had been decorated in this fashion. Tapestry was very common, and may still, though in much diminished quantities, be found in its original setting. *Panelling*, which was not new to the sixteenth century, was much elaborated and beautified; it is the commonest, and probably the least costly method of covering the walls. The Gothic manner is well seen at Haddon in the screen of the great hall. The panels are wide and the uprights between them massive and plain, the cross-pieces are far apart and the heads of the upper panels are cusped. Such panelling is a very good example of the work done at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. From this oblong the fashion in panels turned to a square, the uprights becoming less massive and the cross-pieces nearer together. Then, the desire for ornament seeming stronger, the panels were carved, sometimes in the fashion that is altogether English, and which is known as linen-panelling, since the device is held to have some resemblance to folded linen, sometimes in the Italian manner with carved heads in the centre of the panel. This last method of decoration was very common about the year 1540, and may be noticed in the dining-room of Haddon and other places. Mitred moulding, in which the beading around the inside of each panel is cut to fit at the corners, came into common usage with the reign of Elizabeth, though to assume that on the score of its being

mitred no panelling can belong to an earlier period is a very unsafe assumption. Applied moulding, which is not of the same piece as the upright or cross, would not appear to have any place in the Tudor or Elizabethan periods and must be looked for even later than the Jacobean. After a period in which the popularity of the carved panel was very great, plain panelling again came in, though marked with a great change of character; the moulding was now of a very elaborate nature and the panels themselves were arranged in patterns, often of a very elaborate nature. Of such good examples may be seen at Benthal Hall in Shropshire, and at Carbrook Hall near Sheffield. In both these examples the pattern is well thought out, and pilasters are introduced, running to the whole height of the room, cutting the walls as it were into larger panels and giving relief from a continuous unbroken design. It was not uncommon to find the panels surmounted by a plaster frieze such as may now be seen at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, and in the South Kensington Museum imported from Sozeith Hall, Westmorland.

In the great hall of the Tudor and Elizabethan houses the ornamentation was very rich. In the matter of roofs and screens there is to be found no lack of beauty; the halls at Hampton, Knole, the Middle Temple, and Trinity College, Cambridge, show well the skill which sixteenth-century builders put into such work.

Doors and chimneypieces, locks and hinges, exhibit a very careful workmanship and the nicest taste; so that to the smallest details these rooms were designed with thought. It should be noticed that in all matters of decoration the reign of Elizabeth saw the influence of Italian design obtain a firmer hold upon this country.

Ceilings came to be treated in the same elaborate manner as other portions of the interior, as the walls and doors and fireplaces. Beginning with the idea of covering the space with shallow projecting ribs arranged in patterns, the desire for a richer effect induced men to a greater elaborateness and a larger wealth of detail; so that the plainness of the ceiling of the Presence Chamber at Hampton Court may be compared with the high decoration of that of Wolsey's closet, which is Italian in its design. Though the minute detail of such a ceiling was never largely copied in England during

Photo: Spooner Audley End, Essex

Hall, Hatfield, Herts.; from Nash *Face page* 336

the sixteenth century, there is no noticeable plainness in the designs that were popular. Pendants were always much used in this country. The existence of such ornamentation as that in one of the ceilings at the Reindeer Inn, Banbury, would suggest a very common habit of decoration; all buildings, not only the greatest and the richest, being very well supplied in this matter. As the century went on, a tendency would seem to show itself not unlike that to which the fashion of panel-making had bowed; it is to increase the size and prominence of the ribs and to let the spaces in between become plainer. In the later Jacobean period, and in those houses which, later still, preserve something of the old fashion, the ceiling space is cut up with heavy cross-beams, and the panels between are often plain.

It is beyond the scope of this book to treat of the interiors of houses with any fullness, nor, since the change of plan has been already dealt with, is it necessary to make further mention of any of the rooms. Yet there is in all Elizabethan houses of any size a chamber so important, and which besides exemplifies so commonly the fine treatment which was usual in the interiors of that day, that to fail to give it fuller mention would surely be to leave a necessary point unwritten. The *long gallery* was, in some sort, the centre of the interior, though never of the building, and at the end of the sixteenth century had come to be looked upon as the chief place of entertainment. Its construction and plan should be at least suggested, that some idea may be conveyed of its proportions. The gallery was extremely long, sometimes as much as ten times its width. There were not uncommonly two fireplaces, usually upon the same side; there would be as many bays as might be, and the room would in no way lack windows, so that although long and low it should not be dark. To the panelling of the walls and the decoration of the ceiling there would be brought no little expenditure, the room being made all that the fortune of the owner could contrive. The fireplaces would be of no unconsidered design, the arms of the family and their connections would be emblazoned on the windows, and it is not to be supposed that the furniture or appointments of the gallery would strike any inharmonious note.

At Haddon Hall the great gallery measured some 110 feet

by 17; had three bays; one fireplace; was panelled in rich fashion; was lighted by many windows; and had the ceiling carefully wrought. Although the romance of Dorothy Vernon fleeing from this gallery to the arms of John Manners, the ancestor of the present Duke of Rutland, may have no place in truth, since the room was built after his marriage, there is no reason to suppose that the great chamber was not lit for ceremonies as gay as this imagined ball, and that she, moving among her guests, acted with fitting grace, though unmoved by any thoughts of present flight and subsequent parental wrath.

It is certain that in houses of any importance, where, indeed, the owner had any claim upon a fashionable way of living, the long gallery was the great apartment of the house, and the scene of the most stately entertainment.

The surroundings of the house would naturally vary much with the situation, so that no general description can possibly be made. It is yet perhaps of interest to describe the setting of one great house that some idea of how the fashion ran in such matters may be obtained. The house of Holdenby in Northamptonshire formed, with its two quadrangles and its forecourt, an oblong set with the long side roughly north and south. To the east of the house, leading to the main entrance, was a road across an uncut green some quarter of a mile in length. On the north side of the house were two walled gardens, each about one acre in extent; before the other side of the house was a broad path passing the length of the building, and upon the farther side the rose garden, with terraces beyond leading down to the fishponds. To the west, that is at the back of the house, were the prospect mounds, from which the view might the more easily be seen. About the whole was park land. Although at Holdenby there were no stone balustrades, no summer-houses of elaborate design, and not possibly more than one building in the garden which might be used for banquets, there is yet seen a strong and, it must be confessed, seemingly not unsuccessful attempt to lay out the ground in such fashion as to give pleasure to the eye of those who might pass their time therein.

Since, as has been pointed out, there was no very considerable variety in house-planning during the sixteenth century, it is no matter for surprise that the houses in towns followed

Hall, Hampton Court, Middlesex, with hammer-beam roof

Long Gallery, Haddon Hall, Derbyshire; from Nash *Face page* 338

as far as possible the plans of those in the country. Yet the cramped space into which these latter dwellings were put, and the fact that they commonly were joined one to the other would necessitate much change; and, though the interior might seek the same arrangement, the external appearance would be very different. Two points should be noted about these town houses: that the upper floors were corbelled out the one above the other, and that a very large proportion of the front was occupied by windows, often built in bays. The corbelling out of upper floors and the large window space in the front need no explanation since their advantages are obvious. In certain cases, as in the Rows at Chester, the whole house projected in the upper stages over the footpath. The houses were commonly of plaster or timber-work and many beautiful specimens still remain. When in 1605 a proclamation ordered all new houses in London and within one mile of the City to be faced with brick or stone, it would seem to be forcing a movement already popular. Of medieval London there are now very few corners left, and that which does still remain would seem to be destined to an imminent destruction. Yet there is at present in Holborn the remains of some good timber-work of former London. Staple Inn, where stood one of the City bars, is a fine example of a style of building already discountenanced in the early years of the seventeenth century.

It will be easily understood that the fixing of dates in the matter of architectural styles is an affair of no rigidity, and that one period must overlap another. Thus the Elizabethan building is carried on as Jacobean and as that which has been called Queen Anne—for what reason is not very clear—and is found in houses built during the first half of the seventeenth century; at which time Inigo Jones was introducing a new fashion to English building. This late work, being subjected to a very successful rivalry, is, as might be expected, without the vigour of its prime.

The history of the architecture of the first half of the seventeenth century, which is the account of the establishment of classicalism in English building, is primarily associated with one name—Inigo Jones. It should indeed be remembered that henceforward buildings begin to be associated with their builders, that they are no longer said to belong

to a certain style and epoch, thereby being fully qualified, but that they are remembered as the works of certain men, who, in following a style that was the fashion of the day, yet exhibited their individual characteristics and made the monument which they set up altogether associated with themselves. It is in some sort impossible that any man shall design a building which shall have any semblance of originality and shall yet fail to work into it something of his individuality. It is not to be supposed that the designers of the Tudor and Elizabethan periods, and before them of medieval England, were in any fashion singular in this respect. They did, however, leave small individual stamp upon their work, and that for two chief reasons : they used stock designs to a considerable extent, and they were not, in the sense that the word holds to-day, professional architects. They would seem to have been in many cases builders who set up and designed buildings, who got what assistance they could from sculptors and others in the matter of ornament, and whose plans were seldom worked out in detail before the work began. The tendency was, however, to give work to men wholly concerned with design ; and so the architect came into being. This tendency is shown very strongly operative at the beginning of the seventeenth century ; and though both Inigo Jones and Wren altered their plans very frequently after the building on which they worked was already begun, they are amongst the first, as they are probably the greatest, of English architects. Before Inigo Jones many beautiful buildings were set up—to call them more or less beautiful than those of the later style is surely an entirely arbitrary proceeding which must be settled by each man for himself—and of these buildings the names of the designers are seldom known ; after Inigo Jones, architecture running for a long period on the lines set down by the classical tradition is mainly the comparison of the works of different men, who, moved chiefly by the same idea, expressed it in somewhat dissimilar fashion.

Since these two architects play such important parts in the development of building in this country, it should not be out of place to give in this connection some description of the chief works of their careers.

Inigo Jones was born on July 15, 1573, in the parish of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield. His father, who bore the same

names as his son, was a cloth-worker of, it would appear, no very great prosperity, since he died much in debt. The early years of Inigo Jones, the son, seem wrapped in obscurity. He was, it seems probable, apprenticed to a joiner in St. Paul's Churchyard, but showed more inclination to paint pictures than to design furniture. At the end of the sixteenth century he went abroad, but at whose expense—it is clear that it was not at his own charge, since he had no money—is not known. He travelled in Italy studying Italian architecture and painting, and spent some time in Denmark. In 1604 he was back again in England, employed at the Court to arrange masques. In this capacity he would seem to have shown much originality and ingenuity. He introduced movable scenery to England, and arranged his displays on so lavish a plan that the authors were moved to complain that the play was lost in the staging. About 1612 he went back to Italy again, this time under the patronage of the Earl of Arundel, but was back at the Court in 1615 and occupying the position of Surveyor-General of Works. In 1619 he was ordered to design Whitehall. The palace which he would have put up was to have been of great size ; and the buildings, if they had been erected, would have extended from where Whitehall Gardens now stand to the back of the Treasury, covering an area 1280 feet by 950 feet. The great court was to have been 800 feet by 400 feet. The banqueting hall, finished in 1622, is the only part of the building that was actually set up. From it the character of the detail of the whole may be judged, though no idea of the general composition and proportion of the huge palace may be had from this small fragment.

In 1618 he was commissioned to lay out Lincoln's Inn Fields. Lindsay House and the houses on the west side of the square still show much of his methods of design in street architecture.

Amongst other work of his in London is the water gate o York House, and the church of St. Paul, Covent Garden. Both of these buildings may be held as in some sort typical. The water gate shows the influence of the Renaissance feeling very clearly, and the church is a good example of a building that does not seek the aid of any ornamentation to carry out the design. Here is a building of an extreme plainness

in which the shape, the huge portico, and the heavy overhanging eaves, produce, without detailed ornament, a very handsome structure. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, is one of the earliest buildings in which the heavy portico is used to produce a chief effect. This point of design became very commonly used by Hawkesmoor, Gibbs, and others in the eighteenth century.

Jones exercised much influence on the design of the hospital at Greenwich, parts of which he actually planned in 1635. Parts of Wilton are, however, the best example of his manner. During the Civil War he took refuge at Basing House, and indeed took a notable part in its defence. He died in 1652.

He did most effectively kill the German influence of design in this country and was largely responsible for the introduction of the Italian style. For many Italian designs had come to this country from Germany, and were strongly marked by German taste when they arrived here. Inigo Jones, going straight to Italy for his ideas, established a pure Italian fashion in England.

Christopher Wren was the son of the rector of East Knoyle, who was afterwards Dean of Windsor, and he was nephew to Mathew Wren, Bishop of Ely. He was born in 1632. He went to school at Westminster, and to college at Wadham. He appears to have shown considerable ability at the University, though he did not make any attempt to specialise his talents in the matter of architectural design. In 1661 he was elected Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. He was at this time much occupied with those meetings at Wadham and at Gresham College which led to the foundation of the Royal Society in 1663. His ability as an engineer would seem to have been considerable, and he was always as much concerned with the difficulties of construction—seeming, indeed, to take pleasure in such things—as he was with the creation of the general outline. For him, it would almost appear, no building was of any great merit unless, in addition to beauty of outline and of detail, there might be some difficulty of construction brought in it to a satisfactory solution. Thus in his City churches he would exercise much ingenuity in filling the whole of the site at his disposal, although the shape of the site might be altogether irregular; thus he loved great domes upon his buildings, that in constructing the walls in such

manner that the weight did not affect them, he might settle some difficulty of stress and strain.

The first building that Christopher Wren designed was the Chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, built in 1663–4. This building is not at all remarkable; yet it should be noticed that with the characteristic disregard for surroundings which marked most of the architects of the classical period, and most certainly Wren amongst them, a building of a very divergent style is placed in a court of the fourteenth century. It is very common to find this inconsistency. The man convinced of the beauty of classical architecture would, it seems, consider it his duty to build only in that style, paying little or no attention to the circumstance that he had, perhaps, to set his work in the midst of Gothic surroundings.

After planning the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford—which was built in 1664–8—Wren went to Paris. There he stayed not more than six months, but his visit was designed with the purpose of acquainting him with the manner of the great French architects, and the influence of French decoration is afterwards very noticeable in his style.

In 1668 he was made Surveyor-General of Works, and was thus placed in as favourable a position as possible for carrying into execution his design for the replanning of London after the fire. This design, although it might have made of the City a place less tortuous and cramped than it is at present, was never attempted.

Wren's next work of importance was to rebuild the City churches. As has been already noticed, the sites at his disposal were often of very irregular shapes, and it was apparently a point which seemed to him of the first importance that he should completely cover the ground at his disposal. These churches show a considerable variety of design, and, generally a very successful arrangement. It was, indeed, an idea on which he laid much stress that a parish church should not be too large, nor such that a man may not hear the service from any part of it. St. Stephen's, Walbrook, shows very well his use of the site at his disposal and the distinction with which the interiors of his churches were designed. Wren foresaw that these churches would, sooner or later, be so closely surrounded with other buildings that the external design of the body of the church would be little

seen; he took care, therefore, that the towers, being the only part of the outside that would attract much attention, should be designed with considerable care. To this end he set most of the towers of his churches clear of the body of the building, and put decoration where it might be the better seen, on the upper rather than on the lower stages.

The work for which Wren is most famous need not be commented upon in this book. St. Paul's Cathedral is too well known either to need description or criticism. It will be sufficient to say that the building that now stands is a modification of the third plan that Wren drew, and that the work was begun in 1675 and finished in 1710.

Wren designed many buildings both in London and the provinces; amongst them: the Monument; Temple Bar; much of the Temple; Christ's Hospital; part of Greenwich Hospital; the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of Queen's College, Oxford; much work at Winchester, where the royal palace was to have rivalled Versailles; many additions to Kensington Palace; Chelsea Hospital; and the famous Fountain Court at Hampton. He was, in all matters of adding to old buildings, perfectly careless of that which stood, and was prepared, had his designs been executed, to have pulled down many of the old buildings at Hampton Court in order to make way for those which he had planned.

He was, at the end of his life, the victim of intrigues at Court; was dismissed from the Survey Generalship; and died in 1723.

It has been seen that the new ideas of art which were becoming popular in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century were not altogether unknown in England. Italian detail in architecture had been common in this country from the time of Henry VIII; yet the matter would seem to have stopped there, until Inigo Jones travelled in the South and returned to plan English buildings on the models of those which he had seen in Italy. From that time the classical fashion spread with much rapidity, so that Wren, when he set up many buildings in a style that owed much to classic architecture, was designing in a way already become popular. While Inigo Jones and Wren designed the chief buildings in this land, their genius kept them from any grave fault or exaggeration, and caused them to create much that was

beautiful; but when, in the hands of smaller men, the best traditions of classical architecture—as it is said in a somewhat meaningless phrase—are carried to their logical conclusions, such grotesque and foolish buildings as Blenheim and Castle Howard make their appearance. In the desire to develop a style, already divorced from its proper surroundings, sense and comfort are sacrificed to some imagined principle.

The underlying idea of classical architecture may be said in brief to be simplicity and size. It was altogether contrary to the ideals of the ancient builders that detail and decoration should be so increased that the simple outline of the building might in any way become obscured. In the full purity of its expression one order dominates the building; the absence of excessive decoration is very clear; the size of the columns and their entablature becomes more imposing. Beauty—such the idea would seem to be—should be added to a building by giving it an added stateliness and grandeur; by making it more imposing, but on no account more ornate.

After the somewhat excessive floridness and over decoration of Perpendicular Gothic, and after some of the too elaborate ornamentation of certain Elizabethan houses, the simplicity and coldness of classical architecture secured much popularity in England, due to an inevitable reaction. In the hands of men of genius it was made the means of designing many buildings to which its principles had brought much inspiration; used by those whose ability was not of any imposing nature, simplicity lost itself in plainness and grandeur became heaviness and want of proportion. So through much of the eighteenth century domestic comfort was sacrificed to an ill-understood idea, and monstrous houses sprang up, devoid of internal comfort and without external beauty.

From the time of Inigo Jones the old courtyard plan is practically abandoned, although on occasions he used it himself, and others, as taken with the new ideas as he was, followed him in this matter. Inigo Jones at Greenwich, Wren at Hampton, Talman at Chatsworth, and Flitcroft at Woburn, all made use of the courtyard. Yet for most purposes such a plan was dead. It will be useful to trace the changes which Jones introduced and which those who followed him established.

The new house was commonly designed as an oblong solid

block. The principal rooms were on the first floor, and the kitchens, cellars, etc., on the ground. There was, by means of an external staircase, a direct approach to the principal floor; and to this circumstance the disappearance of the grand staircase is largely due. For when from the front door direct access was obtained to the floor on which all the chief reception-rooms were situated, there was no longer any need for a staircase of great importance. However, it should be noted that although not commonly built, grand stairways, dignified successors of those set up by the Elizabethan builders, do still continue to be built during the whole of the seventeenth century. Coleshill in Berkshire and Ashburnham House are cases in point. It should also be remembered that in town houses the great staircase was never abandoned. The want of space made it impossible that an external flight of steps should lead up to the first floor, and so access to the reception-rooms was gained from inside the front door instead of from outside.

The plan, it has already been said, on which Inigo Jones frequently worked was that of designing his houses as oblongs. Rainham Hall, Norfolk, and Chevening in Kent were so planned. The front door leads into the entrance hall, no longer showing any visible relationship with its medieval parent; beyond the hall and leading out from it is the principal *salon*. These two occupy very commonly the central third of the floor. There would be obviously much variety of treatment in entrance halls, staircases might or might not appear in them; but the plan of the entrance hall and the *salon* occupying the middle of the house with other chief reception-rooms on either side is very common. At Coleshill the great dining-room is on the first floor immediately above the *salon* so that the retention of the great staircase is imperative. This separation of the dining-room from the other reception-rooms, and the placing of it at a great distance from the kitchens, seem two of the minor inconveniences of the new plans.

Several small staircases would be necessary in houses of this plan, as when the *salon* extended to the height of two stories—Inigo Jones built it in this manner at the Queen's House at Greenwich—communication between the rooms of the upper story was often difficult. It is very apparent and has often been commented upon, that the bedrooms of

these houses are very ill-designed. They were, commonly, dark and ill-ventilated, having windows on some tiny inner court, sometimes even gaining all the light and air that was allowed to them from some passage or another room. The architects seeing in windows things very harmful to the symmetry of their designs, suppressed them in so far as might be; made the best bedrooms of the house dark and uncomfortable, and the servants' quarters often altogether unfit for human habitation. In these houses there were, too commonly, the most abominable defects. The reception-rooms and the lines of the outside would seem to have held the designer's attention to the exclusion of all other things. To enable parts of the upper floors to become at all habitable it was necessary to let in light by means of skylights, and this method of escaping darkness in their rooms and on their staircases became very popular with the eighteenth-century architects. It is made much use of at Kedlestone in Derbyshire and Oaklands in Cheshire. In many of the old houses in Bloomsbury—houses that have once shown an appearance of fashion, but that are now become dingy furnished apartments—the staircase, situated in the middle of the house, is lighted only by a skylight, and that so ineffectually that the ground floor is in a state of perpetual obscurity. At Bath, and at any other place where eighteenth-century houses are common, this same fault may be noticed.

Inigo Jones was also responsible for the introduction of a further development of the oblong block, which development became exceedingly popular and was very much employed up to the end of the eighteenth century. The central block of the house remained upon the same plan; in it were the reception-rooms and the bedrooms of the family and guests. To the central block were added side wings connected with the main building by a quadrant colonnade; in these wings or pavilions were situated the kitchens, the servants' quarters, and the stables.

The earliest instance of this form of house is probably to be found at Stoke Park,[1] Northamptonshire, which Inigo Jones started to build in 1640. The central block of the house has a wing to right and left, connected with it by

[1] Vide R. Blomfield's *Renaissance Architecture in England*, vol. ii, p. 285.

quadrant colonnades. In that to the left was the library, in that to the right the chapel. A raised terrace occupies the whole space enclosed by the curve of the building. This terrace was, however, quickly done away with in subsequent buildings of the kind. Old Buckingham House, built in 1705 and designed by Captain Wynne, was an early example of the building of this sort of house without the terraced forecourt. Good examples of the same plan are found in Latham Hall in Lancashire, built early in the eighteenth century, and in Moor Park, Hertfordshire, where the wings cover a far greater area than the main block. In Blenheim (1705) and in Castle Howard (1702) Vanburgh worked upon this plan, and sought to produce an effect by the enormous size of his construction. It is clear that in seeking to convey a certain impression, in wishing to carry out some idea of grouping, he had altogether forgotten that the building which he was commissioned to design was primarily intended to add to the comfort of those who wished to live in it. As Vanburgh planned it, the domestic servants of Blenheim should never have suffered from want of exercise, for those who carried food from the kitchen to the dining-room must pass first of all into the open air, and then commence a tramp of no mean distance, through long corridors, up and down steps and across many rooms. It would seem that the architects of the eighteenth century paid little or no heed to at least the half of their business, but considered their plans well made if they suggested an exterior in the style that was in fashion, and an interior that could show the requisite number of imposing reception-rooms.

It is not altogether uncommon to find the central block surrounded with four pavilions connected with it by colonnades. This enabled the architect to secure a more massive grouping, though it probably did not add to the internal convenience of the house. In such a manner Kedlestone was to have been built, and Kent designed Holkham, Norfolk, with four wings.

In the eighteenth century the fashion of house-building went beyond the modifications of the classical style used by Inigo Jones and Wren, and sought to set up buildings strictly in the ancient fashion. And in view of the fact that our climate is little suited to such a style, and that the internal arrangements of most of these buildings were of a very great

discomfort, it is no matter for congratulation that so many of them exist. The heavy portico which Jones had employed in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, came into fashion for domestic building, and did very much indeed to darken and make more uncomfortable the upper story of the house so designed. A comparison of Stoke Park and Holkham should mark the difference that had come about in domestic design. In the first the treatment of the building is classical: the central block exhibits engaged columns on the façade, with a heavy entablature above, with the attic story again above that. The same order that is employed in the main block is used in the colonnades and the wings. No heavy portico marks the main entrance, but the front door is simply flanked by two columns surmounted by an entablature and balustrade, the columns being repeated on the next story up to the main entablature of the building. Such was the design of Inigo Jones, and it cannot be found fault with on the score of any great exaggeration of the style or any very obvious discomfort. At Holkham, on the other hand, it may be seen at the first glance that much has been sacrificed to style—particularly windows, which are almost entirely absent on the upper story. The heavy portico darkens the rooms which it covers.

So throughout the eighteenth century architects were much concerned with the erection of buildings that should be purely classical in style. They followed out ideas, and as Mr. Blomfield has pointed out, fitted the inside of their houses to an exterior which pleased them, being little concerned with the question of comfort or convenience for the inmates.

To the classical period there succeeded a Gothic reaction—very feeble in its reproduction of the great style which it sought to copy. To that reaction there followed that which is the fashion to-day—a styleless variety well shown in modern villas.

CHAPTER X

TUDOR AND STUART AND LATER ENGLAND

The chief memorial of the Tudor dynasty is the new nobility of England. It is not quite right to assume that the old nobility died off entirely in the Wars of the Roses; for instance, the Earls of Oxford still held Hedingham Castle and would continue to do so for another 150 years; it was here that the de Vere who adhered to the House of Lancaster, making the mistake of showing off his power before his King, who had ordered the nobles to cease to arm and clothe their retainers in their own uniforms, was fined and humiliated. The story is instructive enough, because even the most devoted adherent of a cause has got no right to defy the law of the land. But otherwise the prominent families of Tudor times are new. The Howards only date their rise from the fifteenth century. They were East Anglians, and frequently in the Middle Ages we find a Howard in command of the East Coast fleet. But the first to make the family prominent was the Yorkist John Howard, who married the heiress of the Mowbrays. It is through him that the hereditary marshalship belongs to the Howards at the present day. From Dorset a quite humble landowner made himself useful to both Henry VII and Henry VIII and received ultimately a great share of the territories of the dissolved abbeys, and from him are descended the Dukes of Bedford of the house of Russell. Queen Elizabeth conferred Kenilworth upon her worthless favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Corfe Castle upon the professor of dancing, Sir Christopher Hatton. Similarly a good deal of royal property was alienated at one time and another.

The history of the Border continues to be important through the Tudor period. The heights of Flodden and the neighbouring castles of Twyzel and Ford are connected with a momentous campaign due to Scottish adherence to the French

alliance. But the battle was fought some distance from Flodden itself near the village of Brankston. There is a spring of a kind, in the corner of a field just off the road under Brankston church, which is simply used now for farm animals. It is actually in a situation to which a wounded knight might have been brought from the battlefield but from it no one could see how the battle was going, and, as seen now, it does not call up to our minds a picture of Marmion's death. One of the results of the Tudor policy of suppressing the retinues of the nobles was that good troops were extremely hard to procure. In a campaign in France it was said that the only serviceable English soldiers were the Northern Horse, the light cavalry of the Border, the descendants of the hobelars and mounted archers of the Edwardian reigns. Though the rest of England had no opportunity to fight, these men of the Border, both in self-defence and with a view to harry their neighbours, of their own accord had kept up their military instincts. The Border also saw in Elizabeth's time the rising on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots. Her warden was her cousin, Lord Hunsdon,[1] and he put down the last Catholic revolt in England with considerable cleverness. The Lord Dacre of that period took up arms for the exile, not from any feeling of devotion, but because he thought his claim to Naworth Castle was in danger of being rejected by Queen Elizabeth. After Dacre had been crushed by Hunsdon, Naworth Castle was held by one of the Howards, the " belted Will Howard " of Scott's poem, by right of his wife Elizabeth.

In England the memorials of the ambitious cardinal are Hampton Court and Christ Church at Oxford. In a pleasant valley on the borders of Kent and Sussex, on the banks of a little stream, stand the ruins of Bayham Abbey, one of the first that Wolsey set himself to dissolve that he might apply the revenue to the endowment of Cardinal College, which became Christ Church. So far then was the suppression of a monastery from being popular that armed resistance was offered at Bayham. The skeleton of the walls of both abbey church and monastic buildings still stands, and one can trace the life of a monastery very well on the site ; the piers of the chancel and central tower are very beautiful in their decay.

[1] Son of Mary Boleyn.

Alongside is a manor-house, built out of the abbey ruins, but the lord of the manor has now abandoned it to his steward and lives in a not very beautiful modern building on the opposite side of the valley. Thus in one glance we have here the three stages—the old abbey, the site of the first house, and the modern mansion. Bayham is about half a dozen miles east of Tunbridge Wells and in the other direction is Hever Castle, the home of the Boleyns. The house is still inhabited and is a type of the semi-fortified country house which very naturally took the place of a castle at a time when comfort was thought more of than security. The wide moat surrounding Hever is of course paralleled in many cases where a house has superseded a castle; for instance, at Groombridge in the same part of England. On the coast of Kent are Henry VIII's castles at Sandown, Deal, and Walmer in a group close together, and at Sandgate near Folkestone; and in Sussex between Winchelsea and Rye is Camber Castle. They were built out of the spoils of monastic houses, and Henry has it to his credit that he put some little of the proceeds of his spoliation to public use. Monastery bells were melted down for gun-metal, lead from the roofs was converted into ammunition, and stones were in these few instances carted off to be used in the new forts. It is on record that ten loads of stone were taken from a monastery at Sandwich to be used at Sandgate twenty-one miles away. The plan of these castles was a solid round keep with lower projecting semicircular bastions for guns. But they have no history. Camber was very soon in decay, Sandown and Sandgate are now mere fragments, but Deal and Walmer are still occupied as they were adapted for residence; it is well known that Walmer has been for a long time the seat of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. They were seized by the Royalists in 1648, but re-taken.[1] Calshot Castle on Southampton Water was also part of Henry VIII's scheme of coast defence, being made out of the plunder of Beaulieu Abbey. Spithead was the scene of some naval fighting, and indeed a battle on a large scale all but took place there when a French fleet appeared in 1544. And the late Professor Froude maintained that the English navy being created from the proceeds of Henry's attack on the monasteries was, like the castles of the

[1] *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxiii.

River Torridge at Northam near Bideford, where Mrs. Leigh saw Amyas' ship sail up; 1. looking north and down stream; 2. looking up to Bideford

Photos: C. Newman *Face page* 352

coast, the offspring of the Reformation. Rye, not quite fallen from its old high estate, produced in the person of Fletcher the inventor of fore-and-aft rig, which enabled ships to beat against the wind; and the Elizabethan sailors carried out further Fletcher's ideas. As regards coast defence it is doubtful whether a long string of forts is of much service, except as rallying points for an army, for especially in the days of short-ranging guns an enemy who has once got command of the sea can land where it suits him. At another period of our history, at the Napoleonic crisis, small forts were again built; we call them Martello towers because modelled on the plan of a tower on Mortella Point in Corsica, which the British seized in 1794.

The spirit of the Elizabethan age is felt most in Devon and Cornwall. It was a comparatively new thing to these westerners to be the leaders in English movements. Hawkins, Drake, Grenville, Raleigh, Monk, have of course left their names in history. Yet it seems a little curious to see that the men of the west first made themselves notorious as sailors, and later generations were soldiers. Adventure was quickly played out. The buccaneers of the Hawkins and Drake type gave place in the reign of James I to the more open pirates who haunted the West Indies, and about the same time a new path of adventure was pointed out in the Netherlands. The Dutch, having won their independence by the sword from Spain, were only too willing to pay well the Englishmen who would enlist under them; thus Monk and countless others, who would have gone to sea under Elizabeth, became soldiers of fortune in the Low Countries under James I and Charles I. Plymouth in the sixteenth century had taken prominence amongst the western ports; Fowey and Dartmouth had had their day. It was from the Cattewater of Plymouth that the fleet warped out to meet the Spanish Armada, but it requires an effort of imagination to depict Hawkins and Drake playing at bowls on the Hoe, which is now laid out in the usual style of a seaside promenade. The citadel, which lies between the Hoe and the Cattewater, as we see it, dates from nearly 100 years later. Tilbury Fort reminds us of the other and less pleasant side of the story of 1588. The militia of England, hastily raised without any proper transport and supplies, badly housed and ill-supplied with medical comforts, simply rotted

away by the thousand just at the very time when the routed Spaniards were fleeing round the coast of Scotland and Ireland.

In studying the Great Civil War we have to be very careful to distinguish between the merely local skirmishes, which had very little effect upon the course of the war, and the main engagements of the organised armies. All over England there were men in arms for King or Parliament in their own counties, but the vast majority of them were not at all anxious to serve far away from home. Therefore we have a great deal of local history at this period, especially in such counties as were on the boundary line between King and Parliament, from Lincolnshire to Hampshire, to put it roughly, though no definite line can really be drawn. We have in Lincolnshire those preliminary battles of Winceby and Gainsborough, which were on a very small scale comparatively, but were full of importance for the future, because Cromwell's cavalry was there first showing itself capable under his guidance and worthy of his training. The lesson had been learnt that cavalry should not charge recklessly but squadron support squadron, whether in attack or defence, and should bear themselves steadily rather than make a dash. In Yorkshire the defence by Fairfax of the bridge at Tadcaster against a force something like seven times as large as his own was a forecast of ultimate success in that county. Raids and counter-raids with no particular permanent result occurred along the counties of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. It is perhaps in connection with one of these that the rhyme about Hampden was first composed. The manors of Tring, Wing, and Ivinghoe, never had been in the Hampden family, and it is merely a legend that " the prince " was the Black Prince ; the reference seems to be to John Hampden and Prince Rupert, involved in some unknown skirmish before the catastrophe of Chalgrove field. In Dorset Corfe Castle was for the King, Poole was like most little towns Parliamentarian, and unhappy Wareham lying between them suffered from the attentions of both parties. In Sussex an attempt of the Royalists to seize Chichester and Arundel came to nothing. It was on this occasion that General Waller's soldiers did so much damage to Chichester Cathedral. One may remark in passing that the wanton damage to churches put down to Cromwell and

his men ought, with much more truth, to be referred to the Presbyterian soldiers of other armies in earlier years of the war before Cromwell had come prominently to the front, but there is a sort of superstition that every bit of damage was done by Oliver himself. The desecration of Worcester Cathedral, for instance, in 1642 was due to the Presbyterian army of Lord Essex.

Both armies at the beginning of the war were composed of amateurs. The art of war had practically been forgotten in England, and hastily raised troops, many of them armed in extremely ancient fashion—for instance, a whole regiment at Edgehill wore armour—were not likely to bring matters to a speedy conclusion. In the same way we find old-fashioned castles furbished up and held, and not only that, but held for long periods successfully against very great odds. Donnington Castle, quite a weak little castle dating from the Edwardian period, which may be said to be a miniature copy of Conway but with very much weaker walls, was twice left severely alone by an entire army, namely after each of the two battles of Newbury. Basing House, a mere mansion of brick, was not captured till Cromwell arrived in person after Naseby. Corfe Castle defended by Lady Banks—it had been sold by the Hattons to Sir John Banks—was only captured at last by treachery. Other ladies defended their homes, as the Countess of Derby Lathom House, and the Countess of Arundel Wardour Castle; not that the defence was any weaker for that reason. Scarborough Castle held out for nearly a year. The patched up Roman walls of Colchester defied Fairfax for four months in 1648. Yet it is in this very war that really strong siege artillery was first used when Fairfax and Cromwell at leisure after Naseby battered and assaulted one fortress after another. The heavy guns, cannons, demi-cannons, and culverins, and the shell-throwing mortars, were strong enough to breach the most formidable stone castles when once they were brought up. But before that time the castles were better than the guns.

When a local student is considering the skirmishes or minor actions, the sieges of castles or towns, in his own neighbourhood, he should ask himself whether the local effort influenced the result of the war as a whole. He may find that Cavalier or Roundhead general was simply wasting valuable

time, and keeping away valuable soldiers who elsewhere might have turned the tide of defeat. It is just this prominence of small local actions in 1643 that we find so puzzling. Thousands of men were in arms on either side, but organisation was poor, and there was little whole-hearted devotion to either cause. County militiamen declared that they could not be forced to serve beyond their county boundaries; home was too powerful a magnet, and trade or business too important. Gentlemen might arm and equip their tenants, City train-bands might serve on an emergency, but could such efforts be maintained? Victory would go to the side which would organise the best permanent and professional army, and adequate organisation would depend upon whether either side could secure such a basis that recruits could be enlisted and could be marched off into a distant county without fear of a rising of their enemies in their rear.

The first crisis of the war occurred when the Royalists had won pretty nearly all the West Country. Puritan ideas seemed to attach themselves particularly to small towns, while the country districts were mostly Royalist. Therefore when, as the result of early victories, most of the Puritan towns, such as Exeter and Bridgwater, Taunton and Bristol fell, it seemed as if the Royalist cause was entirely triumphant and nothing remained but to march upon London. Local successes justified a general advance which would have permanent results. But here the weakness of the Cavalier cause is seen. Charles could not get his officers and men to agree with his idea, and the Royalists of Yorkshire similarly objected to go south. Gloucester and Plymouth yet remained in Puritan hands on the one side, and Hull on the other; so the advance on London was given up, and the King devoted himself to reduce Gloucester and the Marquis of Newcastle to reduce Hull. Both failed, and the golden chance was lost. Not that Gloucester and Hull were unimportant places. The city which guarded the bridge over the lower Severn would have been most valuable to Charles, for it would have given him a short cut into South Wales where he always got his best recruits. The capture of Hull would have meant the possession of a capital port for the Cavaliers. But by besieging these two provincial centres the Cavalier leaders, who thought they knew better than their King, did much to ruin his cause.

The story of the relief of Gloucester throws much light upon military methods in 1643. Lord Essex had had the utmost difficulty in keeping his ranks full, and for the relief of Gloucester he took several regiments of the train-bands of London. They had been scoffed at when they drilled with their pikes on the moors outside the City of London, but when Gloucester was relieved and when Essex, on his retreat back to London, was cut off by the Cavaliers at Newbury, the train-bands with their pikes standing shoulder to shoulder were able to beat off the attacks of even Rupert's best cavalry. One does not know how they would have behaved under fire had they been outmanœuvred and taken in flank, but the amateurish straightforward charge of Rupert was easily repulsed by them. Yet, though valuable in a single action, train-bands would never have brought the war to a conclusion. They were simply good on an emergency, and after the emergency wanted to go back to their commercial business. The home of the Parliamentarian success was not London, but the Eastern Counties. It was in the seven associated counties,[1] where men had the sense to see that county levies ought not to be limited to service within their own boundaries, that Cromwell raised the men who first showed their worth at Gainsborough and Winceby, and afterwards at Marston Moor and Naseby. It was in the same East Country that their horses were bred, the heavy animals of the shire-horse or cart-horse type, admirable mounts for the men whom Cromwell's one idea was to train to be steady rather than impetuous.

The main campaign of 1644 shows how success will always attend on concentration. At last the Parliamentarians combined the various local armies—the Yorkshiremen under the two Fairfaxes, the Scots who had come in to take the pay of the English Parliament under the Leslies, and particularly the men of the associated Eastern Counties under Manchester and Cromwell. The concentrated armies laid siege to York. Charles had a by no means contemptible force of permanently enlisted soldiers, but he was kept busy near Oxford and could not move to the relief of York. Rupert was detached with a flying corps, yet unluckily for him he had to withdraw many men from various Royalist castles to fill up his ranks, men

[1] There were other associations of groups of counties in the Midlands and the south-east, but no Cromwell was forthcoming.

who were merely lent for temporary service. He penetrated into the valley of the Trent and relieved Newark, capturing guns and stores, but letting his prisoners go as he did not know what to do with them. Then he cut his way through Cheshire into Lancashire, stormed Bolton, and relieved Lathom House which the Countess of Derby, a Frenchwoman, had defended as a Royalist oasis in the midst of a strongly Presbyterian country. Over the Pennines he pushed into Yorkshire. The combined armies came out to meet him. But he swerved northwards and marched up to York. So far he had done well and revived the cause wherever he had moved. The final blow was struck next day on Marston Moor. The Parliamentarians had all the slope of the ground in their favour and could look into Rupert's army, but he on his side felt secure behind a ditch and brushwood. It would be unfair to accuse Rupert of rashness. Young as he was, he had done the right thing in relieving the city and in following up a baffled enemy so as to give them battle in the open. His mistake was that he had not allowed the Marquis of Newcastle and the relieved garrison of York time enough to recover from the revels in which they had indulged in national style in honour of their relief. As Newcastle's men came straggling up after Rupert's, the Parliamentarian generals saw their chance of success by a sudden attack, even as late as seven o'clock. There is no need to give further details. Rupert's strategy was ruined by Cromwell's tactics.

Meanwhile we are apt to forget that Lord Essex was ordered by his masters of the Parliament to push westwards and restore their fortunes in Devon and Cornwall. Charles himself followed him, and finally penned him in the valley of the Fowey river near Lostwithiel. Many of the Cavalier leaders were afflicted with the national vice, and Essex's horse escaped while they were sleeping off the effects of the drink. But the infantry surrendered. In this direction we have one of the best instances of local resistance when Taunton, captured for the King in 1643, declared again for the Parliament, and animated by Robert Blake defied three attacks by Grenville and Goring. Plymouth had never been taken by the Royalists. Thus we see here clearly what local effort was worth; it contributed to the general fortune of the war by distraction. Charles distracted by Gloucester, Taunton, Plymouth, could

not properly concentrate a force to avenge the defeat of Marston Moor; the Parliamentarians, secure of their base in the Eastern Counties and without an enemy nearer than Newark and Belvoir, could advance to avenge the surrender at Lostwithiel. The second battle of Newbury had no immediate result, but the mere presence of Cromwell in Berkshire was a proof of the decisiveness of the victory in Yorkshire.

In the off-season of 1644–5 Parliament raised their army on "a new model." At first only one army among many, finally the New Model absorbed or rendered superfluous the various local armies. The nucleus of the cavalry was the cavalry of the Eastern Counties; the infantry were mostly impressed, but under discipline would improve rapidly. Naseby field is now enclosed country, rich grass in the centre of the best fox-hunting land in England. One has to imagine the hedges removed, except the one which was lined by Okey's dragoons, and bare ridges in place of pasture. But the dip across which the rival right wings charged to victory, and at the bottom of which the infantry of each centre seemed to be locked in a struggle which would never end, until Cromwell's wing was the first to rally and come in on the King's rear, is much the same now as then. The victorious New Model, created to go anywhere and not limited to any particular district, organised and paid as a professional force, could now snap up castles and towns, for there was no field army of Cavaliers in existence. Goring, indeed, had a force in Somerset, and had taken neither Taunton nor Plymouth. Cromwell scattered it at Langport. Thousands of Cavaliers locked up in the castles might have formed an army, but were reduced piecemeal. Fairfax advanced on the strong fortress of Sherborne, but was in an awkward position as long as the country folk, who called themselves Clubmen and professed to defend their homes against both sides, threatened his communications and supplies. So Cromwell had to storm the pre-Roman camp on Hambledon Hill and teach the peasants that they could not prevail against trained soldiers even behind ancient earthworks. Within three days the new siege guns smashed a breach in Sherborne Castle wide enough to admit ten men, and the place was stormed as the white flag was going up.

Basing House, famous for ever as Loyalty House, was defended by the Marquis of Winchester, lineal descendant of

Hugh de Port. The earthworks there are pre-Roman, but the inner moat cutting off a portion of the old camp is Norman; a brick mansion took the place of the square Norman keep, of which the base alone can be traced; a second brick mansion was built alongside in early Tudor days. Fairly close to London, near the main road through Basingstoke to Winchester, Loyalty House had been attacked and besieged at intervals for nearly three years, yet never taken. The brick towers had been knocked to bits, but a Dutch engineer and an English architect, Inigo Jones himself, built up the breaches. The ruins now resemble the crater of a volcano, for these two piled up earth and masonry round the mansion. Yet their clever contrivances, which could defy Sir William Waller, could not stand against Cromwell's heavy shot. Thousands of musket bullets, scores of solid round shot, and fragments of shells have been found *in situ*; the biggest round shot are 36-pounders, such as were thrown by demi-cannons; fragments of shells are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, the calibre being eighteen inches. But Cromwell could not waste time, and assaulted after sufficient bombardment. He carried the outer Tudor mansion, but a mine exploded as his men tried to cross the moat to reach the inner mansion; another assault was more successful. Several defenders were cut down in the heat of battle, including Catholic priests and even women, yet the prisoners outnumbered those slain. The house was thoroughly looted and fired. In the war neither side can afford to throw a stone at the other in the matter of excesses after victory. The ruins were deserted, and of recent years have been excavated as though some British camp or Roman town were in question, and indeed Basing House is as interesting to visit as even Silchester itself which is not far off. Donnington Castle, which we have mentioned as defying a whole army after the second battle of Newbury, was pounded to pieces in 1646.

The castles of Newark and Belvoir, close to the border of Lincolnshire, had always been thorns in the side of the Parliamentarian cause. They were Cavalier outposts on the flank of the Eastern Association, and from them raids were organised which harassed their enemies but did not affect the war as a whole. Newark, even in 1646, had to be besieged by an overpowering force of Scots; yet not till Charles came and gave

himself up was the castle surrendered. Similarly in the Second Civil War of 1648 there were several sieges which in the long run were sure to end successfully for the New Model. The Cavaliers showed devoted courage, but there could be but one end as they had no field army. Thus Fairfax with part of the New Model drove the Cavaliers, who received no help from Presbyterian London, out of Kent into Essex and then shut them into Colchester. Cromwell found that the little force in Wales had already been scattered, and was only delayed from taking Chepstow and Pembroke at once by the slow arrival of his heavy guns; it is curious to find these castles connected now in the Royalist cause as they had been connected under Strongbow. Whether the old fortress of the Clares, the mighty Caerphilly, was taken and blown up now or in the year 1645, there is no evidence to decide, but it had already been falling into decay. Chepstow fell May 25, and Pembroke July 4. Freed from Wales Cromwell pushed up north to meet a serious danger, for Hamilton was on the march with a large army from Scotland. He went into Yorkshire, crossed the Pennines, and so got on to the rear and flank of the Scots; strung out as they were in a long line on the great main road, he drove them in a running fight of three days, August 17–19, from Preston through Wigan and so to the bridge at Warrington over the Mersey. He annihilated their army and took more prisoners than he could properly guard or feed. Colchester had held out against Fairfax from June 14 to August 27. The second war was now over, and the last desperate resistance of Pomfret and Scarborough Castles was overcome at last; Scarborough surrendered with the honours of war in December, 1648, and Pomfret in March, 1649. The dates will give some idea of the powers of resistance when devoted men stood at bay behind old walls.

Many sites in Scotland are eloquent of the Civil War. When the troubles first began, in 1639, Leslie and his army of Covenanters were encamped on and around Dunse Law, that post from which the valley of the lower Tweed is so well viewed. Charles's half-hearted and untrained army of militia was encamped upon the low ground on the Northumberland side of the Tweed opposite to Berwick. But the Scots had, at least many of them, seen service as mercenaries under the King of Sweden. The militia of Charles was hopelessly

raw, and Charles had to give way on the question of the Covenant. On the coast road between Berwick and Edinburgh, outside the little town and harbour of Dunbar, was fought one of the most decisive actions of the age. We have described this part of the world already in connection with Edward's wars. Cromwell had been completely foiled in 1650 by the army of David Leslie when encamped round Edinburgh. He was in full retreat back to England along the coast road. From Edinburgh as far as Dunbar the flat plain was all in favour of Cromwell, while Leslie marched parallel with him along the hills. It was at Dunbar that he found himself almost in a trap; a few miles further towards Berwick he would come to the ravines, such as that of Cockburnspath, which he himself confessed one man might hold against ten. One can never say that such a general as Cromwell and such well-trained veterans as the men of the New Model were in desperate circumstances, but less good soldiers would certainly have been either annihilated or captured. Had there been no battle probably Cromwell would have held the town to the last gasp, shipping away portions of his men as fast as he could get up his vessels, and holding the ramparts with a desperate rearguard. But on his side David Leslie did not like his men being exposed to the rain and cold on the open moors, and it was to his advantage to offer battle so as to finish the campaign by the capture of both Cromwell and army. The well-known story is that the Presbyterian preachers in Leslie's camp compelled him to give up his advantage on the high ground and come out to offer battle in the open, which was exactly what Cromwell wanted. The position of the armies and the course of the battle on September 3, 1650, have been described recently by Professor Firth who has overthrown all previous accounts. The whole point of the battle is this, viz. that if, when defeated, the Scots fought with their faces towards the west, they would not have fled to the west. Professor Firth's plan shows us that when Leslie descended from the moors he drew up his army facing north parallel with the coast. Cromwell designed a manœuvre which only the best veterans could execute: he entirely altered his line of battle during the night, and just before daybreak, crossing a little burn, he drew up parallel to Leslie's army, back to the sea, face to the moor. A special body,

Dunbar; port and ruins of castle; high ground held by Scots, and burn behind which was Cromwell's first position

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which he had sent to cross the burn at its very mouth and make a detour out of sight of the Scots, through the sandhills where now is the Dunbar golf course, came up in time to be the last reserve, and the general who puts in his last reserve at the right moment wins. This body on Cromwell's extreme left, i.e. on the east, broke Leslie's right, and then swept in on his centre, and so the Scottish flight was to the west. Next year, at Worcester, numbers and discipline were both upon Cromwell's side, and he had very little to fear when once he got his enemy into action; so he did what might appear to be risky, and sent two bodies separately, one along each bank of the river, a most dangerous thing to do even though in his case he had bridged both the Severn and one of its tributaries so that the two bodies could be in touch with each other. Had the Cavaliers been thoroughly victorious on one or the other bank, two bridges of boats would not have enabled the other half of the Cromwellian army to have got up in time to stem the rout; but he could trust his men not to be defeated on either side, and he aimed at annihilation rather than victory, and indeed Worcester was his crowning mercy.

It is at the ford of Coldstream over the Tweed that we enter on the last act of the tragedy of King and Parliament. George Monk had billeted his men round Coldstream ready to concentrate at a moment's notice, and in bitter cold weather but sure of himself and of the success of his cause he crossed, January 1, 1660, to march on London. Whether we admire Charles II or not, whether our sympathies are with the Stuart Restoration or not, we are forced to acknowledge that Monk, by his decision and firmness of character, saved England from years of suspense, if not of civil wars more bitter than those which had preceded. Would the majority of the old Cromwellian trained soldiers agree with Monk that they ought to have a legal government which should give them their pay and their orders, or with Lambert that the army should itself be the government and create its own pay? Such was the question that had to be settled, and Monk was ready to settle it by the sword when he began his march from Coldstream. But Lambert's men melted away; Fairfax appeared from his retirement in Yorkshire; and the expected battle never took place. Two halves of the New

Model meeting under such experienced men as Monk and Lambert, had they fought, would have done deeds that would have been the admiration of military historians. This crisis of our history is commemorated by the name of the second regiment of the Guards, the Coldstreams, once Monk's own.

There are not many places in the late Stuart period that we can identify with important facts of history. We can, of course, picture Charles II sauntering down the Mall or playing tennis, and we can think of Pepys noticing his manners and those of the courtiers and then putting those delicious little touches into his Diary which give us real glimpses of Court life. "The King hath a bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering." "To the tennis court, and there saw the King play; but to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all was a loathsome sight."

Chatham, and Upnor Castle on the opposite bank of the Medway, are a memorial of the greatest disaster that ever fell upon England in her naval history. Hither came the Dutch in 1667, three days running at high tide because, owing to the Plague and the Great Fire of London, the Government simply could not collect any coin, though plentiful taxes had been voted by Parliament. The sailors would not fight without pay, there were no fleets at sea, and Chatham was undefended. We can there call up the picture of old George Monk coming down from London with a train of artillery and guards and gentlemen volunteers, adventurous enough but not skilled soldiers, and by sheer force of character forcing the workmen and sailors to do their duty, and at last getting his batteries and defences in such good order that on the fourth day the Dutch did not try to sail past. A fortnight later Pepys writes: "Thence to see the batteries made, which indeed are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the river should be very secure." But the damage had already been done, the *Royal Charles* taken, the *Royal James*, the *London Loyal*, and the *Oak Royal* burnt, besides smaller craft destroyed. Charles meanwhile was enjoying himself, yet we can never tell whether Charles's gaiety was merely assumed to hide anxiety. The real cause of the Chatham disaster was lack of coin.

London itself is a memorial of the reign, being reconstructed after the fire, and by this time it was spreading well out into

the fields where previously there had been but a house or two or a few bars. Temple Bar, Holborn Bar alongside Staple Inn, and others, marked the boundaries of the liberties of old London outside the medieval walls. Now, after the fire, houses began to invade the area beyond. Three men, Sir William Harper, Lord Mayor in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Lawrence Sheriff, and Sir Andrew Judd, Lord Mayor under Edward VI, had invested in land beyond the bars with which to endow the three schools of Bedford, Rugby, and Tonbridge. The land is, of course, now immensely valuable and gives a large endowment to all three. London streets tell their tale, being named after men of different reigns, so that the approximate date of each extension can be traced. Thus Southampton Row recalls the suburban house of the Earl of Southampton whose heiress married Lord William Russell. This was the hero of the Whig party against whom the Court obtained a sentence of death as though he had been really guilty of murder plots against the King. He was taken to death on the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields together with Algernon Sidney; the cart on which he was carried passed within a few yards of the very house which was the inheritance of his wife, and he is said to have just looked up to see it for a second as he went to his death. From him the Southampton property passed to the Russells, so that now Southampton Row leads into Russell Square, and we have in the neighbourhood Bedford Square, Woburn Square, etc. It was on the other side of Holborn that the family of Russell had obtained, 150 years earlier, the convent garden which gave its name to Covent Garden.

Greenwich Palace was erected in the Stuart period, and is a memorial of the popular Queen Mary, who gave it up to the sailors who had been mutilated in the service of their country at the Battle of Cape La Hogue. The hospital was maintained a couple of centuries, and it was only forty years ago that the naval pensioners were allowed to draw money and live at home, while the hospital was turned into a Naval College. Hampton Court was much changed by William III. It was his favourite residence, and in the park alongside his horse tripped over the molehill which caused his death. The building which brings to our mind Queen Anne's reign is the great, solid, heavy, ugly mansion of Blenheim House. The

older buildings at Woodstock, round which Scott has constructed one of his most clever novels, have disappeared. Blenheim House is ugly, but at least it is a monument of a nation's gratitude shortly after a great event which apparently later generations are only too glad to forget altogether. The chief reward that Marlborough has reaped at the hands of posterity is abuse, as if Swift's scandal and cheap sneers were real historical evidence, but the mansion proves that once our ancestors confessed that they owed something to a Churchill.

A mere mention of the pass of Killiecrankie and of Glencoe must suffice here. The "fifteen" and "forty-five" have more interest in connection with the fortresses. In the days of religious troubles in Scotland, when Mary of Guise and Mary Stuart were confronted by the rising tide of Presbyterianism, Stirling and Edinburgh were first adapted for artillery; probably during Monk's occupation, and again in Anne's reign, more re-fortification was taken in hand. Consequently they were really strong places at the time of the Jacobite risings. In 1715 Mar and Argyle met a few miles north of Stirling, the armies naturally converging towards the castle and the ford. Sheriffmuir is an open stretch of country lying off the old track between Perth and Dunblane; one can picture the clash of clansmen there as on any moor, and there is nothing distinctive as at Killiecrankie. The field of Preston Pans is now in the midst of peaceful farms. What strikes one most at Edinburgh, when one thinks of Charles Edward holding his Court at Holyrood, is the attitude of the governor of the castle. The Highlanders threatened to upset the Hanoverian cause in Great Britain, yet Edinburgh was at the mercy of the castle artillery; the governor had only to threaten to lay the city in ruins, and so obtained his provisions without trouble. The southerners of Scotland looked on supinely while a very few thousands of kilted warriors for a time were invincible, and yet they could hold no more of the country than was within reach of their claymore charge. Probably every teacher who has ever taken a class through the events of 1745 has pointed out that the Prince, marching lightly without the encumbrances of a regular army, threatened to invade Northumberland and swerved across the moors to strike down the valleys towards

the Solway, then took the line from Carlisle by Penrith over Shap Fell into Lancashire and on to Manchester, the line of the L. & N.W.R.; thence the line of the North Staffordshire to Derby. Wade in Northumberland had no cross-track by which to strike into Cumberland to cut off the invaders, and in any case Wade had not Cromwell's gift of strategy which one so much admires in the campaign of 1648. Returning almost unmolested by the same route Prince Charlie fought a rearguard action at Clifton near Penrith, where for the last time blood was shed in action on English soil. He found Edinburgh city reoccupied by Government troops, and was quite unable to capture Stirling where the castle guns silenced his in a few minutes. The story of Falkirk and Culloden is too well known to be repeated.

The student of local history has to ask himself, when standing on any one of these famous sites, whether this or that action, skirmish, or siege was just a mere incident unimportant in itself, or something of national interest. Under the shadow of Edinburgh and Stirling, on the field of Preston Pans or Clifton, even in streets of industrial twentieth-century Derby, the thought must arise that a large peaceful population was once rudely frightened by a raid. What would have happened if . . . ? Grouchy did not march towards the sound of the guns, but if he had ? History is the science of what did, not what might have happened. But common sense supplies the answer. A nation that trusts its safety to a small paid regular army, and yet starves it in days of peace, has no right to sneer if that army cannot be victorious everywhere at a moment's notice. That a blaze of glory should light up a cause before it dies is a good thing; the sense of bitterness in defeat by overwhelming numbers and discipline, as at Culloden, is lessened by the memory of the earlier victories. Yet need the partisans scold the English Jacobites for not rising ? Could they, untrained to arms, have influenced the war ? Or need they scold the Government for crushing the clans ? The Jacobites were leniently treated after 1689—for the Glencoe horror was exceptional and a matter of personal spite—and very leniently treated after 1715. Bradwardines cannot expect to be rebels three times and yet never to suffer any hardship. If one feels one's blood stirred during a tour in the Highlands by thoughts of

Jacobite devotion, still one should reflect that Jacobite successes came near to ruin the Empire. Is it possible that there could have been a campaign in Canada in 1759 if Charles Edward, the friend of France, had won in 1745 our throne for his father?

Therefore the forts in the Highlands, named from William or from Augustus, at whatever date they may have been erected, speak to us of a common-sense military occupation of a dangerous district. So do General Wade's roads, planned after 1715. The famous rhyme—

> "If you had seen these roads before they were made,
> You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade,"

is not quite so silly as one would think; there often is a track before there is a made road. After 1745 was made the cross-road from Northumberland into Cumberland near the line of Hadrian's Wall, and on the low flat country actually it destroyed and took the exact line of the Wall. All this is a memorial of the Stuart collapse. Quebec, too, is a memorial. The Frasers under Lord Lovat were fiercely Jacobite, and James Wolfe fought, and his was one of the few regiments nearly overpowered by the first rush of the claymores, at Culloden; yet the Frasers, recruited in the service of the House of Hanover, were under Wolfe on the heights of Abraham. India is a memorial, for many Highland gentlemen, ruined by the cause, were set on their feet again by obtaining posts under the East India Company, notably the Grants. The Empire gave employment and wealth to the descendants of the men of 1745, and Englishmen have ever given unstinted praise to the Highland regiments of the Peninsula and the Crimea and India. But we must not put down all the fighting clans as Jacobites. The Black Watch, and the Campbells and Mackays and Mackenzies who are now represented by the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, were for Protestantism and Hanover; so too were the lowland regiments, the fiercely Presbyterian Cameronians and the King's Own Scottish Borderers, raised for William's service against Claverhouse. The genuine Jacobites were the Camerons, and the Macdonalds and Frasers and Grants whose clan names are forgotten in the Seaforths. The best memorial of the conquest which brought peace to the Highlands is the network of the

roads of peace, i.e. not the military works of Wade or others. Early in the nineteenth century Parliament voted sums equal to sums paid down by Highland chiefs themselves, a very liberal and ungrudged grant; the great Telford was commissioned to report, and the roads were taken in hand at once. Then followed the construction of the Caledonian Canal, Telford's masterpiece, at the national cost.

Young students hardly ever read Dickens nowadays. But the rising generation of some forty years ago knew the England of Dickens's books better than the England of any other period. Not only were the novels popular, but they dealt with the days of which our parents and grandparents talked to us, and children first learn about and take interest in the things that happened when mother or grandmother was a little girl. Therefore we loved those days when a cockney mispronounced his "v's" and "w's," before the awful "ai" sound was introduced into London by the migration of rustics from the home counties. Grandfather travelled on horseback or by a wonderful four-horsed coach. He slept at a delightful wide inn with a courtyard and galleries. He went to India by a ship of 1000 tons round the Cape. Tinderboxes, snuffers, warming-pans, snuff-boxes were in use; to us they are heirlooms or articles of curiosity in museums. The "Charlies" used rattles; the village constables shut up in the pound stray animals and old gentlemen who had fallen asleep in wheelbarrows. Poor debtors rotted to death in awful prisons, and mild offences committed by mere accident were punished by hanging. Stocks and whipping-posts adorned the village greens. The rector stored every tenth sheaf in his tithe-barn. Here and there these things can be seen yet. Of course, it was also the England of pocket boroughs and bribery. Sudbury in Suffolk boasts that it is the real Eatanswill, but Dickens took the name from Eaton Socon in Bedfordshire; it is not an identification of which to boast, yet few small boroughs could afford to throw a stone at Eatanswill. A bill of the election of 1768 shows close on £250 paid at the White Hart in Lewes. Of this sum £111 were due for one dinner alone on the day before the election; the food only cost 3s. a head, the wine came to four bottles each man, and £14 worth of punch was drunk besides; port and sherry (which was then called Lisbon) were the favourites at 2s.

a bottle, and only a poor half-dozen of claret and hock were drunk, probably by the candidates and agents themselves.

Pre-Victorian England, the England of which the one conspicuous household name should always be Macadam, is the last and not the least interesting study of any one who is moved by local history. Facility of transit is as important as the use of steam or electricity in machinery, and the ordinary road for horse or bicycle has as much value as the railway; yet the lover of scenery and antiquities shudders to think what Macadam has done to encourage motorists who care for neither. Few people know, or if they know pause to reflect, that he flourished a bare dozen years before railways. Fewer know that his real name was MacGregor, dropped by an ancestor when the notorious freebooters were outlawed.

The Roman highways remained when the Roman Empire had broken up. Here and there our roads diverge because the Saxons settled away from them, and tracks had to be laid down later to connect places off the line. The stretch of Erming Street out of London, another stretch in Lincolnshire, a great part of the Colchester-Cambridge road, Watling Street west of Rochester, much of the Sussex Stane Street and of the "Ackling Dyke" of Wiltshire and Dorset, have disappeared or are only to be seen as grass-grown tracks. Yet the Roman permanent ways mostly remained, and the bridge places of medieval England were often those where the Romans had crossed. But the roads were badly kept, indeed had the reputation of being the worst in Europe up to the later part of the eighteenth century in some few cases, up to the period of Macadam, 1818–30, as regards England in general. Landowners were supposed to keep them in repair, yet clearly shirked their duty; the *trinoda necessitas*, the triple obligation to maintain bridges and roads and mills, was evaded unless there was some incentive. In 1276 the Abbot and men of Chester had to be bribed to maintain a league of road in return for a right to cut wood; the county palatine, be it remembered, had just then become royal. The roads were used, bad as they were; armies stumbled along them to such points of rendezvous as Worcester or Chester, Carlisle or Newcastle. In Wales Edward I's first care was to cut tracks through forests along the coast, having small

armies of impressed workmen whom he watched with cavalry *ne fugerent per viam*, yet whom he paid at current wages and even rewarded with an extra *pourboire—quibusdam fossatoribus bene laborantibus ad potandum*. Such tracks were evidently "corduroy" roads, tree-trunks being laid parallel in ridges as fast as they were cut. The old Roman road between Chester and Caernarvon, which ran inland, had gone quite out of use. The Berwick-Edinburgh medieval track must have been vile even in Cromwell's time, crossing moors and dipping into ravines such as armies dared not attempt in face of an enemy. In quieter parts the Roman roads were in use. Outlaws who sought asylum in a church were given a port, and ordered to go to it by the main road and there take ship; if caught wandering from the appointed road they could be killed at sight. But they were bad roads, and became worse as nobody looked after them, and the medieval fairs declined in consequence. As for cross-roads, even in the nineteenth century old men can remember springless carts hauled at less than a mile an hour with the mud or clay nearly up to the axle; very many were not macadamised until quite recent times, and have owed their present fine surface to the outcry of bicyclists and of innkeepers to whom the bicyclists brought custom.

Medieval "bridges" were mostly fords; or so at least one suspects. If the Romans had put in good stone piers, their successors had only to maintain the wooden upper works. The story of the fights at Stamford bridge, Stirling bridge, Borough bridge, tells of wooden planks. Wallace with his own hand hewed at the supports and cut off one half of the English force from the other half which had already crossed. The Earl of Hereford at Borough bridge was killed by a spearman who got below and stabbed him through the wood; the story shows that here bridge or ford were alongside each other, for the other earl was taken prisoner as he tried to force the ford. The same thing was probably the case in many other places, for where men could ford they could put in a rough trestle-bridge of some sort. A narrow bit of water could be spanned if an earth causeway could be run up to either bank, so that a wooden staging could be thrown across. And in the later Middle Ages stone bridges were not beyond the power of men who could build cathedrals and abbeys,

and the only reason why comparatively few were built was the expense; why should one man build and be out of pocket for the good of the community? Pack-bridges were fairly common, some ten feet wide so as to give room for a beast of burden and its leader. The nineteenth century has spared a few, and these it may be hoped will never be destroyed now that better feelings for old things prevail. There is one at Sutton in Bedfordshire with a ford alongside, a charming spot, with fourteenth-century church and parsonage and farm-houses not far off; another near Duxford in Cambridgeshire. Pack-horses and riding-horses had most work to do in the Middle Ages. Yet carts were common, for military writs inform us that kings demanded as their right in war a proportion of carts and carters from monasteries; the pages of Froissart give us a picture of English armies in France toiling along at a slow pace delayed by the baggage train, which was parked and served as a laager sometimes when a battle was imminent. The difficulty of guarding and maintaining a bridge or ford was met usually by the construction of a chapel alongside, or it may be on the bridge; a chantry priest was attached who was ready to say masses for those who paid him, and in his spare time he could act as toll-keeper. The bridge at St. Ives in Huntingdonshire still stands and has its chapel, and though it is narrow and awkward for the needs of the district, long may it stand. Old prints often show a bridge and a building on it, perhaps once a chapel, afterwards used as a lock-up.

There is in the history of coaching one point that stands out very curiously, and which it is well to bear in mind; it is that until the second decade of the nineteenth century the state of coach travelling was quite undeveloped. So that that perfection of the system which was ultimately obtained comes at the very end of the coach's history, and though very great during its short prime, is, however, a matter covering not more than thirteen or fourteen years. Coaching established itself in this country towards the end of the sixteenth century and developed with a very remarkable slowness until the nineteenth, when with the advent of railways the use of such conveyances was superseded in the heyday of their success.

In the twenty-second year of the reign of Elizabeth coaches

Sutton pack-bridge, Beds. *Face page* 372

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would seem to have been frequently made use of; the conveyances do not, however, appear to have been anything but most abominably uncomfortable, and the pace at which they travelled was of the slowest. Complaints against them started almost with their introduction. It was urged that the existence of such things would induce country gentlemen to bring their wives from their estates to the capital, where they would squander their incomes and neglect their tenants; and that such travelling would render men luxurious and without a proper acquaintance with hardship, which acquaintance they had formerly gained by long journeys on horseback in bad weather. Yet this last complaint seems ill-founded—seeing the vile discomfort of the coach; and Elizabeth, after her first journey in one of the new carriages—a very gorgeously equipped affair, but without springs—refused to enter any such coach again, saying that for two days after her ride she could not move without pain. The bad state of the roads, and the primitive condition of the conveyances used, would not have encouraged men to use this new method of transport too freely. Yet it appears that carriages came into fashion for women to travel in, though men still went on horseback.

In 1580 the Earl of Arundel made a successful attempt to better the condition of coaching; and in 1619 there appears the first of a series of regulations to limit the number of Hackney[1] coaches in London and Westminster, grave complaints having been made of the alarming condition of the streets, which their presence had brought about. The same year Buckingham appeared in a coach with six horses, but was immediately beaten in this matter of show by the Earl of Northumberland who went abroad in a coach and eight. Yet there was as yet no regulation of coach traffic. In 1640 the Dover road is mentioned as the best in England, no matter for surprise if we consider the importance of the continental route; yet the journey from London to Dover took three days under the most favourable conditions. In 1662 six stage coaches were running regularly in England. In 1663 was passed the first Turnpike Act; toll-bars were set up at Wade's Mill, at Caxton in Cambridgeshire where at the cross-roads

[1] Hackney would seem to bear no reference to the place of that name, but is derived from the French word *hacquenée* = a cob let out for hire.

there was, and is still to-day, a gibbet—our ancestors' ghoulish love for horrors, executions in public and leaving bodies to swing in chains in public, is a constant source of wonder to us brought up differently—and at Stilton in Huntingdonshire; the distances are 22 miles, 26 miles, and 22 miles respectively. Two great inns, we may remark in passing, stand in diminished splendour at Stilton, of course of a later date than Charles II; the celebrated cheese—which now is but a name to many since cheap highly tasting cheeses are imported from France and Switzerland, but which commends itself to those who have a palate unsuited to gorgonzola, and which speaks to us of a time when real British produce was appreciated and port wine was not adulterated—is named after the place where travellers ate it, but is made in the grass districts of the Midlands. The system of collecting tolls was entirely right at first, though unpopular; good highways were impossible without tolls. A curious result ensued. Drovers bringing cattle to market avoided the highways, luckily for the travellers, so as to avoid paying; they struck out their own line, and the animals beat down tracks which are called drift-roads, often parallel to and not far from the highways. Many drift-roads can be seen in the country, wide and grass-grown; the downs are seamed by them in every direction, deep trenches which appear to be cut by engineers rather than the feet of cattle, and the Pilgrims' Way in particular was frequented by drovers. Nothing separates quite modern England more strikingly from recently modern England than the custom of sending up cattle and carcases to market in railway trucks; armies of beasts used to tramp to London and were penned on the way. It is useless to quote more Turnpike Acts; thousands were passed within less than two centuries, till in 1871 it was decided to make each district keep up its own roads. The result of Charles II's Act was that by 1706 the York coach, starting three days a week from the "Black Swan" in Holborn, took four days over its journey. The machine must have been exceedingly ill-built and uncomfortable, and obviously slow. The coachmen usually rode.

Having touched upon this section of road geography we may look forward a little. A second route to the north was laid out at a much later date. The Wade's Mill-Caxton-

Huntingdon line was then known as the Old North Road. The new line was the Great North Road, and ran by Potter's Bar, Hatfield, Hitchin, Biggleswade, crossed the Ouse by a fine nineteenth-century bridge, and proceeded wide of Huntingdon to pick up the old line south of Stilton, thence to Stamford, Newark-on-Trent, East Retford, Doncaster, Selby, York. It will be seen that this is nearly the track of the railway. But except for a few stretches, as at Stilton and again at Doncaster, it is quite off the line of Erming Street which ran to Lincoln; also Erming Street between Doncaster and York ran wide to the west of the Yorkshire Ouse and avoided the low ground by Selby. Consequently Pomfret and Boroughbridge were on the Roman road, but were missed by the Great North Road.

In 1669 Oxford was reached from London in one day, then considered a surprising feat. In 1751 the journey to Dover had been shortened to two days, and Exeter was reached in four, by the best coaches. The time-table of the Exeter coach was, first day dinner at Egham and bed at Murrell's Green on the London side of Basing, second day dinner at Sutton Scotney and bed at the "Plume of Feathers" at Salisbury, third day dinner at Blandford and bed at Dorchester, fourth day arrival at Exeter. The route is interesting; it is the Roman road from London, crossing the river at Staines; and thence beyond Egham, Silchester being entirely missed, the line is nearly that of the L. & S.W.R. to beyond Basingstoke; from Salisbury it is the Roman line for some distance, then diverges to take in Blandford in place of Badbury Rings, and picks it up again at Dorchester. This Exeter coach only ran once a week and started on Mondays. It was fast travelling for the period. Each half-day's distance was some twenty or twenty-two miles, the Blandford-Dorchester section being the shortest.

During the next fifty years many stages were put on the road, and the speed of travelling much increased. In 1754 the journey from London to Manchester was made at an average of five miles an hour. In 1784 the doing of eight miles an hour by the fastest coaches was no uncommon thing, though the complaints of the vile state of the roads had in no way diminished. In 1779 a daily coach ran to Glasgow, took three days upon the journey, and charged its passengers a fare of £1 16s. 6d.

It is, however, to the work of Palmer that much of the subsequent good management of coach-travelling may be attributed. John Palmer, M.P., a native of Bath, first concerned himself with inducing the Government to have the letters carried by coach, and not, as had been the case before, by post-boys on horseback. The post-boys had, it would seem, enjoyed a very small amount of supervision, and the keeping of exact time in the delivery of their mails had not been insisted upon; their average rate of travel is said to have been three miles an hour. Palmer urged with success that the mails should be carried by coach, and that the control of such coaches as carried mails should be in the hands of the Post Office. His plan was adopted, and he was appointed director of the mails. He arranged that coaches and horses should be hired from coach-builders and livery stable-keepers; that stages should be settled on the road; and that those who supplied the cattle for the changes should be responsible for their good condition, and for the avoiding of all possible delay in getting the mail on its way. The guard of the mail coach was in command; he was superior to the coachman, and was, indeed, a very important person. He sorted the letters on the hind boot; kept the watch with which the Government supplied him, and was responsible for the punctual running of the coach; was also charged with making a report of the state of the roads, the cause of any delays, and the behaviour of toll-keepers and innkeepers. He was heavily fined if the coach was late without due cause being shown, and, on the other hand, could secure the punishment of any defaulting servant of the post along the route. Thus the mail coach guard was an official who might, and in most cases probably did, do much valuable service to the central authority. The mails should, according to Palmer's scheme, start from the General Post Office at a fixed hour every evening. So there came into existence one of the chief sights of London, now altogether disappeared. At eight o'clock each night the mails would leave the post office, and we have it on good authority that the citizens were duly proud of this daily spectacle when—I speak of the great days of coaching, about 1830—twenty-seven coaches, each emblazoned with the royal arms, each well horsed, and each with a guard in scarlet and

gold mounted behind, would follow each other from the Post Office.

There were in London, before the introduction of omnibuses, stage coaches which ran from the suburbs to the City. These were two-horse vehicles and their pace was exceedingly slow. Thus one of these coaches ran from Paddington to St. Paul's Churchyard at a speed of four and a half miles an hour, and charged a fare of sixpence for each passenger for the single journey. It is to be supposed that when a more frequent and faster service of omnibuses was introduced, the inhabitants of the outlying districts of the metropolis were greatly benefited.

Two famous roads may be considered, and from these it is hoped a general idea of the coach system at its best will be obtained. It should, moreover, be remembered in this connection that the period of perfected coach-travelling was exceedingly short; that it did not properly begin before 1825, and that in 1838 it was being superseded very quickly by the introduction of railways.

On the Great Western road, that is on the routes, for there was more than one, serving the West of England, there were many fast and famous coaches running. Most of the West Country mails were taken to the Gloucester Coffee House, all trace of which has now disappeared and the site of which is occupied by the St. James's Hotel, or to the White Horse Cellar in Piccadilly, now a restaurant alongside the Berkeley Hotel showing no trace of its old arrangement, and having nothing to connect it with coaching-days but a few prints hanging on the stairs, and one or two framed advertisements of the mails that used to run from the old inn. To one of these two inns the mails were commonly brought from the General Post Office, for the coaches going west were exempt, it would seem, from the ordinary custom of going to pick up their letters for themselves. Hounslow was the first stage out of London, and through this place all the coaches would pass, and would, moreover, stop there to change horses. It is interesting to note that at the most prosperous period in the history of the road there were over 2500 horses stabled at Hounslow, especially kept to serve the coaches that passed through the village. In view of this it is no matter for surprise that many complaints were raised when coaching was super-

seded; towns that had been prosperous maintaining that they had been ruined. For it is not hard to understand that any country town which stabled so many animals, employed sufficient men to look after them, and supported inns at which there was the continual passage of travellers paying good prices for their entertainment, was likely to be in a very prosperous condition. It is, moreover, certain that Hounslow was not peculiar among the villages on the great coaching routes, but that there were many other places as busy with the horsing of coaches and the entertainment of coach-travellers as it was. And so when railways came into fashion the bitter complaints of Barnet, Newbury, Hungerford, Marlborough, and many other places, may be recognised as coming from towns very hard hit in the matter of their prosperity. About Hounslow, however, there clings more of romance than is the case with any of the other stages on the western roads, for here Claude Duval, the Frenchman, who surely set the fashion in highwaymen's manners, carried on his profitable business until, in 1670, his riding came to an end with a last journey in the hangman's cart.

The "Telegraph," the day coach to Exeter from London, started from the "White Horse Cellar," and performed the journey of 175 miles in seventeen hours. This time is inclusive of stoppages for changing horses, and for food. The fare charged was £2 10s. for the single journey. The stages of the journey from London were: Hounslow, Staines, Bagshot, Andover, Amesbury, Deptford Inn, Salisbury Plain, Wincanton, Ilchester, Ilminster, Honiton, Exeter. The coach started very early in the morning, about 5 a.m., to enable the passengers to arrive at their destination before very late in the evening, if they were going the whole journey.

The Brighton Road, which in the days of the Regent was brought into great prominence, since all the fashionable world must travel to Brighton, improved somewhat before the other roads of England. In 1823 it was in very good condition and carefully engineered, so that there were not more than two or three hills that could seriously interfere with the pace of the coaches. From this date until the decline of coaching, which may be fixed at the end of the 'thirties, a very fine service of coaches ran upon the road. Twenty-four four-horse coaches started from London daily for Brighton, and

the like number left Brighton for the metropolis. About 1825 the average time for the journey was said to be just on six hours. In 1833 the Brighton coaches, the fastest of a fast selection it should be understood, were said to maintain an average speed of twelve miles an hour. The "Quicksilver" running from "The Three Nuns," Aldgate—which public-house in its present guise seems very far removed from coaching—was timed to do the journey, including stoppages, in 4½ hours. It is said that a four-horse coach accomplished the 51½ miles between London and Brighton in 3 hours 45 minutes. In mentioning the Brighton Road some notice should be taken of the gentlemen drivers who appeared upon it, and who are said to have been by no means inferior in the management of their teams to the professional whips. Mr. Stevenson, a graduate of Cambridge, set the fashion, and daily for some time drove his famous coach the "Age" upon this road. His example was followed by other gentlemen, and this driving of stage coaches became somewhat of a fashion.

It should not be imagined that there were not fast and good stages running on other roads. All the mail coaches making the journey to important towns, and many independent vehicles, maintained a speed of between nine and ten miles an hour, and sometimes performed faster travelling than that. In 1836 the Shrewsbury coach did the 154 miles of the journey in 15 hours; the journey from London to Manchester, 187 miles, was accomplished in 19 hours; to Holyhead coaches ran in 26 hours 55 minutes; and the "Independent Tally-ho" did the journey from London to Birmingham, 109 miles, in 7 hours 39 minutes, though this would appear to have been considerably quicker than its usual time.[1]

The period during which coach-travelling was well organised and rapid covered only a few years; it does not start until 1826, when the main roads of England had been very carefully improved and re-made, and it finishes between 1838 and 1840, when at the very height of its prosperity it was superseded by a more rapid means of transit. The last of the old coaches to run regularly from London was the "Bedford Times" leaving the "George and Blue Boar," Holborn, on the site of which is now the Inns of Court Hotel, and running to the "Swan" at Bedford, via Hitchin.

[1] I have taken these facts from Captain Malet's *Annals of the Road*.—H. J.

Two names are primarily associated with this rebuilding of the roads: Telford and Macadam. Telford, who was born in 1757, became an engineer of note. In the capacity of a maker of roads his career may be reckoned from the survey of Scotch roads which he began in 1802. After that date he did much to improve the conditions of travel both in Scotland and in England. He planned many roads and bridges throughout the country, and seems to have been very active in North Wales, where, amongst other accomplishments of his, the suspension bridge over the Menai Straits is still in use. He died in 1837. Macadam, who was born in 1756 and died in 1836, introduced to England that system of making the surfaces of roads which is now known as macadamising. Before his time flints had been thrown unbroken upon the roads, and since they were often smooth they did not bind well together, so that much traffic passing over them kept the road loose and cut up. Macadam realised, though it is stated that he was not the first to originate this idea, that the flints would bind much better if they were broken and sharp-edged, and this had the result of making the surface very vastly improved. It is therefore mainly to these two men, Telford and Macadam, that are due the great improvements which came about in the roads of England during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. And upon these improvements the comfort and speed of coach travelling very vitally depended.

Although the number of the old inns which served the comfort of travellers a century ago is very much diminished, and though the prosperity and in some sort the character of all of them is changed, certain of them are yet to be seen much, in outward appearance, as they were when stage coaches stopped at their door. Two features were very prominently marked in the old hostelry: the stables and the courtyard. For, on the one hand, to supply the changes for the four-horse coaches, and to be ready with a considerable number of animals to accommodate those who posted about the country, would demand large stabling as a very essential point of equipment in a well-conducted inn; and, on the other hand, it was the custom of those who desired to put up there for more than a few minutes to drive into, not up to, the inn. About the courtyard, in which there must have been a very close pack of vehicles if the inn did a prosperous trade, there

ran galleries on to which the doors of the bedrooms opened. Instances of inns with the galleries still to be seen about the courtyard are rare, and daily becoming rarer. The New Inn at Gloucester is still largely unchanged in this respect; there was until a few years ago a very good specimen of this style of hostelry in the "Falcon" in Petty Cury, Cambridge, but to-day no trace of the old yard exists. The courtyard without galleries about it may still not uncommonly be found, although it is now very often glazed over and made into a sort of lounge, the old carriage entrance to it being blocked up. The "George," Winchester, is an example of this arrangement of an old inn, into the glazed courtyard of which—the proprietor calls it a "winter garden"—no carriages may now enter; at the "Lion," Cambridge, however, the old plan is more or less retained, and it was usual, until recently, for vehicles to drive from the street into the courtyard, and thence to the stables behind. It is a point that should be remembered that communication between different parts of these inns was largely by means of the courtyard; thus at the New Inn, Gloucester, and at the "Lion," Cambridge, the only means of getting from the kitchen to the dining-room is, even at the present time, by crossing the courtyard. There are, beside those already mentioned, a fair number of the old coaching inns still left about the country, but they are mostly much changed, often entirely rebuilt. This is more especially the case in London, where the "White Horse Cellar" and the "Three Nuns," Aldgate, bear no resemblance at all, except in name, to the old hostelries whose sites they occupy. The "Red Lion" at Henley-on-Thames, the "Hop Pole" at Worcester, the "Lion" at Shrewsbury, and the "George" at Menai, all at one time famous coaching inns, are now much changed, and would seem, when taking on the new style of "hotel," to have got rid of many of their old traditions and much even of their old structure. The famous Castle Inn at Marlborough, now part of the College, is very far removed from its old condition. It is no uncommon thing to see painted on the outside of some rural public-house the legend "posting-house," which legend is not now intended to convey any suggestion that the landlord will supply post-horses to any chance traveller, but which in many cases is a legitimate memorial of former times, and bespeaks a prosperity long

since dead, suggesting mail coaches seeking a change of horses, and a continual bustle of coming and going that has for many years ceased to trouble the quiet of the village.

Before finishing this chapter, and this book, there remains one subject of which something must be said; the introduction of canal building should be mentioned, though briefly. There were made, from quite early times, many and, to a certain degree, successful attempts to improve the navigation of English rivers by artificial means, but it was not until 1759 that the first serious attempt was made to construct an artificial waterway, where no water had been before. At the date mentioned the Bridgwater Canal Act was passed, and the Duke of Bridgwater promoted the building of the first canal. The course of this canal was twenty-four miles long when completed, and it was built with the object of facilitating the carriage of the Duke's coal, in which object it was entirely successful. Brindley, the engineer who designed this canal, was faced, before the canal was built, with much hostile criticism; but upon its completion, and when its use was shown to be entirely practical, he was supplied with much work of a like nature, and the example which he had set was followed by many other engineers. Amongst the chief canals which Brindley planned are: the Grand Trunk; the Wolverhampton Canal; the Chesterfield Canal; the Oxford Canal; and the Coventry Canal. The method of conveying goods by canal was found to be so much cheaper, and for fragile goods so much safer, than road transport, that it was very eagerly adopted throughout the country, and that network of canals which may be seen to-day came into existence during the latter end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Amongst the principal engineers responsible for the building of these canals were: Brindley, Smeaton, Watt, Jessop, Telford, and Nimmo. But when the railway system was established the conveyance of goods by canal diminished, the slowness of the transport leading in many cases to its abandonment. So, although the canals are not in the main abandoned, and though on many of them there is a very constant traffic, this method of transport has suffered a reverse, and many canals are fallen into practical neglect.

It is surely not inappropriate that the ending of this book on the study of local history should deal with something now

altogether disappeared from our national life, and that in a way that precludes, as far as may possibly be seen, all chance of its return. Architecture is an art which has continuous growth; and however inferior we may think its present expression to that which it once had, we know that the building of to-day is sprung out of that of yesterday, and we can at least hope that the development of the future will more worthily reflect its parentage. For the old method of travelling there is, however, no development. There came a sudden change when mechanical and not animal power was used to convey men and their belongings; the new in this case cannot fairly be called a development of the old. The lot of travellers in the days of coaches cannot really be discovered by other means than when some reflection of it appears in an old-fashioned inn. It is possible to find something of the record of the coaches, of their times and routes, and of the cost of journeying, by the perusal of documentary evidence, but the real life of this old way of travelling is only to be glanced at in the management of some quiet hostelry very much, in the common phrase, behind the times. And some idea of the life of the road may still be come upon in those out-of-the-way places where His Majesty's mails are still conveyed by coach, and where, as in parts of Devon and Cornwall, if he does not hire a private conveyance, the traveller must ride on the mail coach, or walk.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Some slips have occurred in the text and make correction necessary. Also a certain amount of extra information has reached me, chiefly through the kind services of Mr. F. M. Stenton, and Mr. Lamborn has given some hints, and to each I owe sincere thanks.—J. E. M.

Note (*a*), p. 13. For "West Kennett" read "East Kennett." Close by is Silbury Hill, a very high artificial mound; the Roman road to the west from Marlborough aims at it, and then diverges to sweep round its base, so that it is proved to be pre-Roman. Long ago it was twice explored, but it yielded no evidence that it had been erected as a sepulchral monument; it is not well placed to be a beacon-hill; therefore the purpose of the Neolithic men who threw it up is not clear.

Note (*b*), p. 18. The earth-bank and ditch at Stonehenge are paltry, and not to be compared with those at Avebury. Lately, a citizen of Salisbury, who has over and over again visited Stonehenge on Midsummer morning, gave to me his experiences. At the moment of sunrise on one occasion he was lying along the exact line, looking from the central ruined trilithon, over the altar-stone, through the outer great stones, to the "Friar's Heel." The sun rose just to the left of the "heel," but as the full ball cleared the horizon it struck over the top of the heel on to the altar-stone and straight into my informant's eyes. At a comparatively recent date one upright of the afore-mentioned central trilithon was restored to its original position, and at its base were found chips and tools of flint and reindeer horn; yet the use of bronze at Stonehenge is considered by experts to be certain, and the date of the work at a very early period of the Bronze Age when Neolithic tools were yet used is not challenged.

Note (*c*), p. 32. When talking of fords we should remember that often several are close together, and a fortress such as Oxford guarded several crossings. The Icknield Way seems to have forked north of the Thames into three branches, one striking the river at Dorchester, another at Wallingford, and

a third at Streatley, and one would guess that the middle one was the original way. Across the river three tracks converge from the fords close to Lowbury Hill, where stands a small Roman camp ; the middle one from Wallingford is called the " Fair Mile " ; but the courses of the three are not clear for any great distance. The Icknield Way in Berkshire is not identical with the Ridge Way, and they are mentioned in Old English charters as separate tracks ; the Ridge Way runs on the crest of the Downs, passing Wayland's Smithy ; the Icknield Way runs north of it and roughly parallel with it, but on lower ground. Both Mr. Stenton and Mr. Lamborn have given me information on the topography.

Mr. Lamborn also points out the use of the great dyke near Dorchester, which cuts off an area on the north bank between the Thames (Isis) and the Thame. It was not a defence of the dwellers on the north bank against the tribe that held Sinodun Hill on the south, but a *tête de gué*, a landing-place, fortified by the men of Sinodun, so that they might land at will and raid up the Icknield Way.

Note (*d*), p. 33 and p. 117. Dr. Colley March, in the *Dorset Field Club's Transactions*, vol. xxiv., argues that linches or hill-terraces were not formed for agricultural purposes. But we can go on a " method of residues." 1. On gently sloping ground they may be formed by nature, earth being washed down a hillside until it is arrested and forms a ledge. But the deep, sharp linches must be artificial ; for one has only to compare such terraces with the sweeping and rounded lines of the water-worn grooves and combes on the chalk downs, and one discards the " natural process " theory at once. Moreover they are found on other soils, in the Midlands and in Yorkshire, and the arguments used for chalk lands break down at once. 2. Sometimes linches seem to be lines of fortification as they run round an entire hill. But in very many cases indeed they are dominated by higher ground, and the flanks can be turned. They have no ramparts. As we have hundreds of ramparted Stone Age and Bronze Age camps, it is idle to argue that non-ramparted linches were also for defence. 3. A linch close to a pre-Roman rampart, or where the rampart has been levelled, may have been created by Saxons who had no need for earthworks. 4. A long isolated linch may be a track ; but they are much more common lying several together. If a single linch is mentioned in an Old English charter as a boundary, surely the inference is not that all old linches were isolated, but that the outside one of several was the boundary ; they were not created

originally for tracks, or for boundaries, if they are found several together. 5. On the other hand, Mr. Poulett Scrope, in the *Geological Magazine*, in 1866, described how a tenant farmer converted a grass-meadow on gently sloping ground into arable—in the good days of farming, of course. Within ten years linches were formed; rain washed down the mould, some accident arrested it at a certain line, and a terrace was the result. Certainly the tendency is for the upper part of such a field to be denuded of mould, to be worked "to the bone," i.e. to the bare chalk or stone. But the first makers of linches had no choice. They had to farm on slopes or not at all, as the swampy lowlands would defy hand labour before ploughs were known.

The theory therefore stands, that agriculture on hill-terraces began with the stone tools of the late Stone Age, became more general in the Bronze, was common when ploughing was common in the Iron, and was suitable to the Saxon system of farming in strips. We do not now see linches as the old tribes made them, but as the Saxons and medieval English used them. Quite possible many linches are not pre-Roman at all, but Saxon or English; Mr. Seebohm has shown how the baulks, or grass boundaries between the strips, easily become raised banks, and, indeed, one can see this at the village of Laxton where the open fields survive. Ploughing both has created and has destroyed linches; this is obvious, for the arguments of Mr. Scrope and Mr. Scebohm are conclusive that ploughing has created, and modern conditions of farming with improved ploughs and in enclosed fields have destroyed.

Note (*e*), p. 77. For "wold" read "Lincoln Edge." The Edge is a continuation of the Jurassic formation which crosses the Midlands. A porous stone lies on top of a bed of impervious clay. Erming Street ran along the waterless top; the Saxons established a string of villages, some two to five miles off the Roman line, lower down, and where water gushed out between the stone and the clay.

"Erming" was originally "Earning." There is an Arningford Hundred in Cambridgeshire, also a village Earningatun which is now Arrington; a certain Earn, or Earna, gave his name to the village, and it spread to the hundred. Now it surely is more than a coincidence that "Watling" was originally "Wæcling," and that Bede gives Wæclingacæstir as the Saxon name of Verulamium. We have two great roads, each bearing the name of a man who gave his name to a settlement on it.

One would infer that first the stretch out of London was

called Earning or Wæcling, then the whole road to Lincoln or Chester. In modern times other roads received the names, in Kent and on the Welsh border, and in the north. Information from Mr. Stenton.

Note (*f*), p. 77, also p. 57. In Note (*c*) mention has been made of a Roman camp on Lowbury Hill, in Berkshire, near the point where several old tracks meet; it is square, with rounded corners, and it has yielded pottery and oyster-shells and coins. The military value of the position is obvious. Whether the Roman Government required to keep it garrisoned for any length of time after Vespasian's conquest is another matter, but it is interesting to find a genuine Roman fort south of the Thames, unlike the pre-Roman camps which the conquerors used, such as Sarum and Hod Hill.

Note (*g*), p. 110. I overlooked Mr. W. H. Stevenson's arguments in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1902. Badbury, A.D. 901, was written Baddan-byrig (dative case), the settlement of the man Badda. Therefore, the Ring is not Mons Badonicus. Yet the corner where Wilts and Hants and Dorset meet, where is the Bokerly Dyke—and the Wans Dyke is not very far away—may well have been the country of a Saxon repulse by "Arthur"; Badbury is some miles to the south-west of Bokerly. Etymologists also deny any connection between Bath and Mons Badonicus.

Note (*h*), p. 113. "Ham," in the sense of "home" and then of "village," is liable to be confused with "hamm," meaning "a low-lying pasture." Benham in Berkshire was originally Bennan-hamm, i.e. Benna's meadow. This sense of "ham" seems to be common in the west, e.g. along the Severn.

Note (*i*), p. 114. Those who have been brought up on Canon Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* naturally consider "ing" to be a patronymic, and Professor Skeat holds this view. But the modern theory is that it marks a possessive case. Goldington is the village of Golda, not of Golda's sons. The importance of the theory is considerable, for it confirms the idea that the early Saxon settlers were not all free and equal, but that the place-names show the superiority of local chiefs.

Note (*k*), p. 116. Laxton and Eakring, Notts. It must not be supposed that the fields here are farmed in common. A rotation of crops survives, and each of three open fields is farmed for two years and fallow the third. Baulks have disappeared, but some low linches exist at Laxton; elsewhere the scattered strips of one man are marked out by stakes

from his neighbour's strips, and the stakes are placed each year in accordance with each man's holding, as described in a parish-book. The Eakring grass-lands are held in scattered strips, staked out like the arable ; when the hay has been cut the meadows are subject to common, and each man may turn out to grass so many horses. On odds and ends of ground hay is grown, and the proceeds of the sale of it are divided. The farmers are " toft-holders," or " toft-occupiers," the toft, in the old Norse sense of *topt*, being a house in the village, together with the close in which it stands. Toft-holders hold freely, and may be said to be the sokemen of old, with full powers of sale. Toft-occupiers pay rent to landlords, but are protected by custom, in fact are emancipated villeins, or copyholders. Before Parliamentary Reform only toft-holders had votes. Toft-meetings are still held. The Notts peasant is a fine, well set-up man, and is of the old Danish type. One suspects that there is a good deal of quarrelling in these unique villages.

Note (*l*), p. 133. The Somerset Edington was originally " Eadwinestun," therefore cannot be Ethandun.

Note (*m*), p. 148. There would be a good deal to say in favour of Brunnesburh, now Bromborough, in Cheshire, near Birkenhead, as the site of Athelstan's victory.

Note (*n*), p. 177. The excavations at Old Sarum show late Norman work within pre-Roman earthworks. The inner ring of earth is now proved not to be pre-Roman at all, but is the result of the accumulation of the rubbish of centuries covering the lower parts of the ruined Norman stone castle.

Note (*o*), p. 193. Shell-keeps. There is an almost perfect specimen in Lincoln Castle ; it is polygonal, and probably of Stephen's reign, and it played an important part in the battle of 1217. Clifford's Tower at York may be said to be another, but Baile Hill is still a mound and seems never to have carried stone. The custodian of Clifford's Tower tells visitors that the Romans threw up the mound, and that William I built the keep ; it is a pity that the local antiquaries do not put him right. On p. 195 it should have been said that the keep in Conisborough Castle is solid and cylindrical, but heavy buttresses make it to appear polygonal.

Note (*p*), p. 249. The five sisters of York Minster are not in the " south transept," but the " north transept."

Note (*q*), p. 252. Another theory of " low side " windows is that here the priests heard the confessions of criminals

guilty of such bad offences that it was impossible to admit them into the churches. Mr. Lamborn gave me this hint.

Note (*r*), p. 281. The list of cathedrals to which were attached priories is Bath, Canterbury, Coventry, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester; and Carlisle was served by regular canons.

The cathedrals of Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Salisbury, and Wells were served by secular canons. Seculars lived their lives "apart," took no vows, and were not under "rules." Great collegiate churches, as at Stafford, Southwell, Beverley, Ripon, Wakefield, were also served by secular canons. Each canon was supported by a prebend, a parish living belonging to the collegiate church, and set apart for his maintenance. He was thus both parish priest and church dignitary, and he put in a vicar to serve the parish and a vicar choral to serve the collegiate church, non-residence and an idea that a canonry carried a title and emolument but no duty being common. The collegiate clergy met at intervals in their chapter-house, which at York and Wells and elsewhere is to be found north of the church; thus, in visiting such places, students must not think of it as the daily meeting-place of monks.

On p. 254, for "Gloucester Cathedral" should be read "Abbey." Henry VIII created the see of Gloucester at the Dissolution; so also at Bristol, Chester, Oxford, Peterborough.

Note (*s*), p. 307. A visit of curiosity to the old clothing villages of Suffolk enables me to draw a comparison. Kersey is a nucleated village, with a fairly long single street running down one hill and up another; it has several old houses which once must have been imposing, and where the master clothiers would have lived; its church is Perpendicular, like those of Melford and Hitcham, and many villages; built *de novo* about 1500. There is no nucleated village of Lindsey; its houses have gone, and no more than three or four cottages stand anywhere together; its Decorated church has not been touched, and is picturesque in its old age, a low building with wooden porch and small bellcot, and one feels thankful that no rich clothier pulled it down to build a Perpendicular facsimile of Kersey church. There is a certain amount of monotony in the lofty flint walls of the Perpendicular work of the neighbourhood, though the fine towers and wide porches are certainly imposing.

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